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ABSTRACT

To identify the characteristics of activists and nonactivists, 229 students at 3 institutions were studied. The students were divided into 6 groups: left, moderate, and radical activists; left, moderate, and radical non-activists. The institutions were a small private liberal arts college, a medium-sized private university, and a large public university. Researchers met with the students in small groups on each campus and administered, in a 2 hour session, questionnaires. These instruments measured intelligence, personality, attitudes, values, extent of political activism, and political ideology. The anonymity of individuals and organizations was guaranteed. Results indicated that significant personality differences existed only between the 2 major groups of activists and non-activists. Activists were more independent, more sociable, more socially ascendant and more assertive. Right activists and right non-activists were highest on "Authoritarianism" and left activists lowest. Right and left activists were both highest on "Autonomy." (NF)

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STUDENT ACTIVISM AND IDEOLOGY IN HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS

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SUMMARY

This study was undertaken to test the commonly made assertions about the personality, attitude, and intelligence attributes of college student sociopolitical activists and nonactivists. A review of the literature noted that previous research conclusions were marred by the confounding of political activism and political ideology, the failure to compare political activists with appropriate politically nonactive control subjects, inappropriate interpretation of the measuring instruments, failure to compare results across institutions of higher education, and lack of rigorous, quantifiable criteria for selection of research subjects. The present investigation studied six groups of students at each of three institutions of higher education in order to ascertain, via a more rigorous methodological approach, the personal characteristics of activists and nonactivists. The six groups were left activists, middle-of-the-road activists, right activists, left nonactivists, middle-of-the-road nonactivists, and right nonactivists. The three institutions were a small private liberal arts college, a medium-sized private university, and a large public university. The final sample consisted of 229 students.

The students were met with in small groups on each campus and administered, in a two-hour session, a booklet containing standardized, reliable, and valid questionnaires. These instruments measured not only the students' intelligence, personality, attitudes, and values, but also the extent of their political activism and the nature of their political ideology. Complete anonymity of individuals, organizations, and institutions was guaranteed.

The data obtained for each scale were subjected to a 3 X 2 X 3 Institution X Activism X Ideology analysis of variance. The results indicated that there were no measures on which any particular activism-ideology subgroup differed from each other. All activists--left, middle, and right--were found to be less needful of support and nurturance, to value leadership more, to be more socially ascendant and assertive, and to be more sociable than all left, middle, and right ideologically oriented students who were not politically active. Ideologically left, middle, and right students, activists and nonactivists alike, differed from each other in social acceptance concern, valuing of leadership, valuing of benevolence, and objectivity. There were no differences among any of the activism or ideology groups on intelligence (although there was an institutional difference), emotional stability, or responsibility and restraint.

The data of all scales were analyzed by a multiple discriminant analysis in an attempt to differentiate the six activism-ideology subgroups on the set of dependent variables operating together. That analysis indicated that right activists and right nonactivists were highest on the "factor" labeled "Authoritarianism," and left activists were lowest, while the other three subgroups fell in between. Right and left activists were both highest on the other significant "factor," labeled "Autonomy," with middle activists, and right, left, and middle nonactivists following in that order.

The results of this study call into question some of the previously made assertions about the personal characteristics of student activists, particularly student left activists. Conclusions arising from previous research on student activism seem to be based upon less than adequate research design and methodology. The implications arising out of the present study are that appropriate comparisons can and should be made in attempting to derive a description of activist students in order to separate the relative contributions of activism per se from those of ideology per se. Activists of a particular ideology do not seem to be distinguishable from activists of a different ideology, at least on the characteristics measured in this research. It is suggested that future research in this area be both more rigorous and more global in its approach.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

American higher education has witnessed, since the early 1960's, the emergence of its students from apathy to activism. Although activist students are a minority of the entire U. S. college population (Astin, 1968; Braungart, 1966; Peterson, 1966), these students are a growing force for change in higher education and in American society as a whole. Peterson (1968b), in a national survey, has chronicled an increased activism toward a larger student role in campus governance between 1965 and 1968, as well as a doubling of the number of campuses experiencing organized student protest of the Vietnam War in the same interval. The recent outpouring of books, monographs, articles, and special issues of journals in the scientific literature, plus the numerous reports on student political and social activism in the mass media, attest to the impact that activist students are having on the larger society around them.

Yet, for all that has been written, much confusion and lack of knowledge remains concerning the personal and environmental determinants of student sociopolitical activism. The reasons for this state of affairs are several. To begin with, much of the material written has been highly conjectural. In this material, broad social trends are discussed, social philosophy is delved into, and hypotheses about the developmental backgrounds of students are entertained (see, for example, Bettelheim, 1969; Halleck, 1968; Kennan, 1968; Sampson, 1967). Compared to this tide of conjecture and uncontrolled observation, the studies reporting empirical data on college student activists are few. The author would echo Astin's remarks in this regard:

> . . . most of the published material has been of a journalistic and speculative nature, representing, for the most part, anecdotal accounts of confrontations on specific campuses or speculative analyses of the protest "movement." While such writings have provided a wealth of provocative hypotheses concerning student activism, they offer little empirical information concerning the personal and social determinants of student activism [Astin, 1968, p. 1] .

The reasons for the paucity of empirical efforts in this field are easily enumerated. The practical problems involved in obtaining student

and institutional cooperation and confidence, in being on, or traveling to, campuses where activism is "hot," and in obtaining research funds, and the conceptual difficulties alluded to above and spelled out in detail below, are just a few of the more obvious problems. It is thus understandable why scientific research on this phenomenon is in the unrefined state it is in at present.

Problems in Previous Research

Confounding activism and ideology. To be sure, empirical research has been undertaken, but unfortunately the return of substantive knowledge relative to the effort expended has been small. This is partly due to the almost universal confounding of political activism and political ideology among those who study and speak of student activism. Almost invariably, characteristics have been imputed to "student activists" when the students studied or speculated about have been ideologically left activists. It is at least conceivable that the inferred qualities of the "student activists" were associated with their left ideology rather than with their activism. Or, it is just as likely that all activists--left, middle, and right in political orientation--would share the same personal or social traits as a function of their being political activists, not left-wing activists.

As an example of the confounding referred to here, Trent and Craise (1967) compared responses on the Omnibus Personality Inventory (Heist and Yonge, 1968) of Free Speech Movement arrestees with a random sample of Berkeley seniors (using data obtained by Heist, 1965) and with a national sample of college students. They concluded: "From these comparisons, it becomes apparent that few college students in general can match the positive development of those personality characteristics that distinguish student activists from their college contemporaries" (p. 39). Since it was student left activists under study, the question arises as to whether these qualities are related to the students' activism or to their ideology. The confounding of activism and ideology, by the failure at least to include right activist controls, does not allow an answer to this question.

As another example, Katz (1967) reported higher verbal Scholastic Aptitude Test scores for (presumably left) activists compared with (unspecified) nonactivists. Again, left activists may be more intellectually able than their nonactivist counterparts, but this leaves in doubt the issue of how they compare with right activists and middle activists.

That right activists have been so infrequently studied, either in and of themselves (Westby and Braungart, 1967) or as compared with student left activists (Braungart, 1966; Haan, Smith, and Block, 1968; Kerpelman, 1969b; Westby and Braungart, 1966, 1969; Winborn and Jansen, 1967) may reflect the relative scarcity of right activists to study. It may, on the other hand, reflect the comparative inattention of investigators to the less visible student right activists.

Lipset (1968), Kerpelman (1969b), and Block, Haan, and Smith (1968) all independently have proposed the separation of activism and ideology in investigations of student political activism. The latter authors have succinctly stated this view thus:

> Although there has been a tendency to equate social involvement and political activism with liberal politics, we have been impressed by the existence of an active protest group with a conservative political philosophy. The continuing presence of such individuals requires that activism be defined independently of political ideology if we are to extricate the correlates of activism per se from those of liberalism per se [Block, Haan, and Smith, 1968, p. 208].

Without instituting appropriate comparative studies in which students with different political ideologies are sampled within the activism dimension, it is impossible to state with certainty just what the attributes of the "new left" are and how these distinguish them from "radical right" or "moderate middle" activists.

Nonactivist controls. A further problem with some of the student activism research lies in the failure of many investigators to provide for appropriate nonactivist control groups. If no control groups are compared with student activists, it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine whether or not the characteristics ascribed to the activists are actually characteristics common to all college students. Keniston's (1968) intensive interview study of a group of Vietnam Summer volunteers provides interesting insights into the backgrounds and motivations of a highly committed group of left activist students. Yet, because of the absence of appropriate controls, unanswered questions remain concerning the qualities that are unique to these students and those that are common to all college students.

Even if control group procedures are instituted, the controls must be appropriate if interpretation of the data obtained is to be meaningful. Relatively little is revealed if personality and background characteristics of a sample of student left activists are compared with those of a sample of nonactivist students, as Flacks (1967), Heist (1965), Trent and Craise (1967), and Watts and Whittaker (1966), for example, have done. Within the category of students called "nonactivists" may be students of left and right persuasion. It is obvious that if ideology is not accounted for, then conclusions that are based upon comparisons between left activists and nonactivists of unknown ideology are tenuous at best.

Furthermore, randomly selected nonactivist controls are frequently not matched with activists in what, for want of a better term, could be called participatory activity. Members of activist groups share at least one feature in common--they all participate in a group. Selection, as control subjects, of students who may or may not belong to an organized group may then be misleading, for qualities thought to be

associated with activism may merely be qualities associated with participatory activity. While perhaps trivial, this is a factor that should at least be considered in investigations of student activists. None of the studies referred to above which used nonactivist controls selected those control subjects from extant, nonpolitical campus organizations.

Measuring instruments. Because many research investigations of student activism have been stimulated by momentary events (such as sit-ins and demonstrations), the measures of personality and intellectual traits used have frequently been hastily chosen and inappropriately applied. It has also been the case that, due to practical difficulties, indirect measures rather than direct ones have been taken of students' personality, intellectual, and value attributes. Finally, investigators have been prone to interpret personality measures loosely and to make unwarranted positive value judgments about personality traits. The result has been that a seemingly firm body of knowledge has been built upon a very shaky data base.

Some examples might elucidate these assertions. As quoted above, Trent and Craise (1967) spoke of (left) activists' personality characteristics in very positive terms. Closer examination of the seven Omnibus Personality Inventory (OPI) Scales, which served as the basis for their assertions, reveals that three scales have to do with intellectual orientation, two scales assess the respondents on liberalness and conservativeness, and only two scales are concerned with ego functioning (Heist and Yonge, 1968). Of the latter two scales, the left activists scored higher in Impulse Expression and lower on Lack of Anxiety. The former scale, if extremely high (as the activists' mean score approached being), can indicate "frequent feelings of rebellion and aggression" (Heist and Yonge, 1968, p. 5). A lower score on the latter scale indicates a higher anxiety level. It is thus difficult to see how, on the basis of these data, Trent and Craise (1967) can conclude that "few college students in general can match the positive development of those personality characteristics that distinguish student left activists from their college contemporaries" (p. 39). It is further interesting to note that Trent and Craise's report of the OPI data from Heist (1965) failed to include the scores on two ego functioning scales (Social Alienation and Social Introversion) that would indicate that the left activists studied were more withdrawn and isolated than their nonactivist counterparts.

Although Heist (1965) did not extrapolate from his data in the manner described above, other authors have. Katz (1967) cited these same data, among others, to support his assertions about " . . . the strength and richness of their [left activists'] intellectual, aesthetic, and emotional endowment" (p. 16). This conclusion, in this writer's opinion, is unwarranted on the basis of the empirical data from which it is drawn. Indeed, there are recent studies which indicate, contrary to the assertions of Katz (1967), Trent and Craise (1967),

and Bay (1967), that left activists may be less adjusted, in certain respects, than their nonactivist, nonleftist counterparts. Whittaker and Watts (1968) found, for example, that, while their left activist subjects were more autonomous and sought change of routine more than a cross-section of students, the former students also had less self-control, were more emotionally labile, saw themselves as less adjusted, were more exhibitionistic, and were more aggressive than the latter students. The point of this is not to say that certain personality traits are more desirable than others: the point is simply to suggest that conclusions about "positive" personality traits need to be thought through more carefully than has been the case thus far with statements about the personality characteristics of left activists. Clearly, statements of such certitude as those of Katz and of Trent and Craise, quoted above, are unwarranted at the present time.

Nowhere is the tendency to draw unwarranted conclusions, based upon inappropriate measures, so pronounced as it is in the area of intellectual ability of student left activists. The departures from normal scientific practices are, for some reason, so numerous in this area that only brief mention can be made of them. Somers (1965) referred to higher <u>self-reported</u> grade point averages of a sample of left activists at Berkeley as an indication of greater intelligence. Bay (1967) and Katz (1967) both cited this in support of their assumptions concerning the superior intellectual ability of student left activists. Yet Watts and Whittaker (1966), examining <u>actual</u> grade point average records, found no differences between left activists and nonactivist students at Berkeley. Even more pertinent was Geller and Howard's (1969) finding that their sample of left activists at Yale viewed themselves as higher in class standing than did their sample of nonactivists, even though substantive evidence of academic ability (College Entrance Examination Board scores, high school rank, actual grade point average) revealed no differences between the two groups. This seriously calls into question the accuracy of self-reported grade point averages. Heist (1965) reported significantly higher grade point averages of left activists based upon registrar's data, but the absence of supporting numerical data makes it difficult to compare his findings with those reported elsewhere. Katz (1967) even cited Flacks (1967) to support his assertion that left activists have higher grade point averages than nonactivists, even though the latter's data were based upon self-reported grade point averages, the reported mean grade point average of the activists was only "slightly higher" than that of the nonactivists, and numerical data and tests of statistical significance were not reported.

Grade point average is at best a very indirect measure of intelligence. Yet even more indirect measures have often been cited to support the assertion that left activists are more intelligent than nonactivists. Heist's (1965) data on the Intellectual Disposition Categories of the Omnibus Personality Inventory have been cited frequently in support of contentions "that many of these students are the most bright and able students to be found on the nation's campuses" (Trent

and Craise, 1967, p. 38); "that the activists are recruited particularly from the intellectually able and interested students" (Katz, 1967, p. 14); and that there is "an apparent preponderance of intelligence and intellectual resources on the left side of the political spectrum" (Bay, 1967, p. 76). Yet the Intellectual Disposition Category is simply an index of an "intellectual-scholarly disposition," not intelligence per se. "The absence of intrinsic intellectual interests does not correlate strongly with poor academic achievement . . . " (Heist and Yonge, 1968, p. 25). The six scales that comprise the Intellectual Disposition Category correlate only slightly and on the whole nonsignificantly with measures of academic aptitude (Heist and Yonge, 1968, especially Tables 9, 10, and 16).

Only two studies attempted to measure the intelligence of activists directly. One reported a slightly higher mean verbal intelligence test score for a group of student left activists than for a group of randomly selected nonactivist students (Watts, Lynch, and Whittaker, 1969). Unfortunately, tests of statistical significance were not reported for these data; it appears that the difference was so small as to be nonsignificant. The second investigation reported a statistically significant higher mean verbal intelligence test score for activist, as contrasted with nonactivist, students, but this was for ideologically left, middle, and right activists combined as contrasted with left, middle, and right nonactivists combined. There was no significant interaction to indicate that left activists alone scored higher on this measure than did any other subgroup (Kerpelman, 1969b).

Institutional comparability. The nature of the student activism phenomenon calls for examination that extends beyond any particular higher education institution. Practicalities frequently prohibit the investigation of student activism at more than one campus at a time. Since this usually means that different methodologies and measurements prevail in each investigation, comparability of results suffers. Almost all of the studies cited above have been studies of student sociopolitical activity on one campus. Only three studies (Braungart, 1966; Flacks, 1967; Haan, Smith, and Block, 1968) examined students from more than one campus, and only Peterson's (1968b) mail survey of the scope of organized student protest, and Astin's (1968) large-scale longitudinal study of college students attempted to examine differences among institutions. While the sum total of separate researches at separate campuses may yield useful findings and provocative hypotheses, the heterogeneity of methodologies and instruments used makes it difficult to obtain a more global picture of the student activism phenomenon. Indeed, a group of Fellows at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences (1968) recently put forth a call for a more comprehensive and objective survey of the determinants of student activism than had heretofore been done. It would seem, thus, that a useful way to study activism would be to sample campuses as well as activists.

Criteria for selection. The issue of the criteria used for

selection of activist students is obviously an important one. Self-identification of subjects as belonging to an activist organization has been accepted generally as a selection criterion in research on activism. In only a few studies (Geller and Howard, 1969; Kerpelman, 1969b) has an attempt been made, in addition, to obtain a quantitative index of extent of political activism. Even fewer studies (e.g., Kerpelman, 1969b) have attempted to use a quantified index of political ideology as a selection criterion.

Furthermore, activist organizations contain a range of participants from the highly committed to the hangers-on. Again, only a few investigators have considered this variable. Keniston (1968) and Winborn and Jansen (1967) studied student activist leaders; unfortunately, they made no comparisons between these highly committed leaders and their less committed organization members.

Finally, subjects' awareness that they are being studied as members or representatives of activist groups may affect the way they respond to questionnaires and other measuring instruments. As has been pointed out:

> . . . when subjects are aware that they are being questioned as members or representatives of a particular group, they may attempt to present themselves in a manner which they view as consistent with the public image of that group. In keeping with this, the responses of student activists to attitude surveys and psychological tests may be influenced by the popularly known findings of social scientists as well as the familiar image created by the mass media [Geller and Howard, 1969, p. 15].

It is obviously very difficult to study student activists without their knowledge and cooperation. Only in the investigation quoted above, by the use of a non-reactive index of politically active commitment, were subjects studied without being aware of the reasons for their selection. It is also difficult to study student activists anonymously, as names are usually required to keep the research data in order. Yet, students may respond in a much different manner if they know that their names will be associated with their responses than if anonymity is assured them, or they even may be hesitant to respond at all (Walsh, 1969).

Overview of the Present Study

The aim of the above discussion was not to deny that left activists may be more intelligent or more psychologically rich than any other group, for they may well be. The aim, rather, was to suggest that the data are by no means sufficient or unequivocal to make statements with any certainty about the personality, intellectual, and attitude correlates of student activism. The unclarity of the data has resulted from the confounding of activism and ideology. the failure to use appropriate control

groups (or any controls at all), the misinterpretation of measuring instruments, the lack of methodological comparability from study to study and from institution to institution, and the loose criteria used in selecting subjects. While the present investigation shares some of the limitations of the previous research discussed above, it was undertaken in an attempt to overcome as many of these limitations as possible. It attempted to achieve this aim by separating activism from ideology; by using left, right, and middle activist subjects, as well as similar nonactivist subjects; by using, for the most part, firmly established, valid measurement instruments; by sampling across institutions; and by using rigorous criteria for selection of subjects. Only in this way was it felt that a reliable body of data could be obtained to yield an accurate picture of the personality, attitude, and intelligence tendencies associated with activism and nonactivism across the entire political ideology spectrum.

To accomplish these aims, students at three different institutions of higher education were selected from extant campus organizations to participate in this study. The students were classified on the basis of organizational membership into politically active and politically nonactive categories, classifications that were confirmed by using a quantitative measure of amount of political activism actually engaged in. The activist students were further divided, both on the basis of a prerating by political scientists of the probable political character of the organizations and by a quantitative measure of the subjects' own political ideology, into politically left, middle, or right categories. The nonactivists were classified into the same three political ideology categories on the basis of the same quantitative measure of their political ideology. The research design is indicated schematically in Figure 1.

The measures of the various personality, attitude, and intelligence attributes administered to the subjects were selected (a) because they covered as broad a range as possible of psychological attributes while still being administrable within a reasonable time period, and (b) because they were, on the whole, supported by a significant amount of previous research indicating that they were reliable and valid measures.

A design such as that described above allows the delineation of those personality, attitude, and intelligence characteristics which are associated with activism per se, those which are correlated with ideology per se, and those which are associated with one of the three institutions sampled. It allows, furthermore, the important distinction to be made concerning which psychological qualities are associated with interactions of these three dimensions, such as, for example, whether left activists have certain unique characteristics, or whether right nonactivists at one of the institutions diverge in any particular manner from the other subgroups. It is the latter type of differentiation, wherein ideology and activism and institution are examined in interaction, that has been notably absent from previous research and that was instituted in the present investigation.

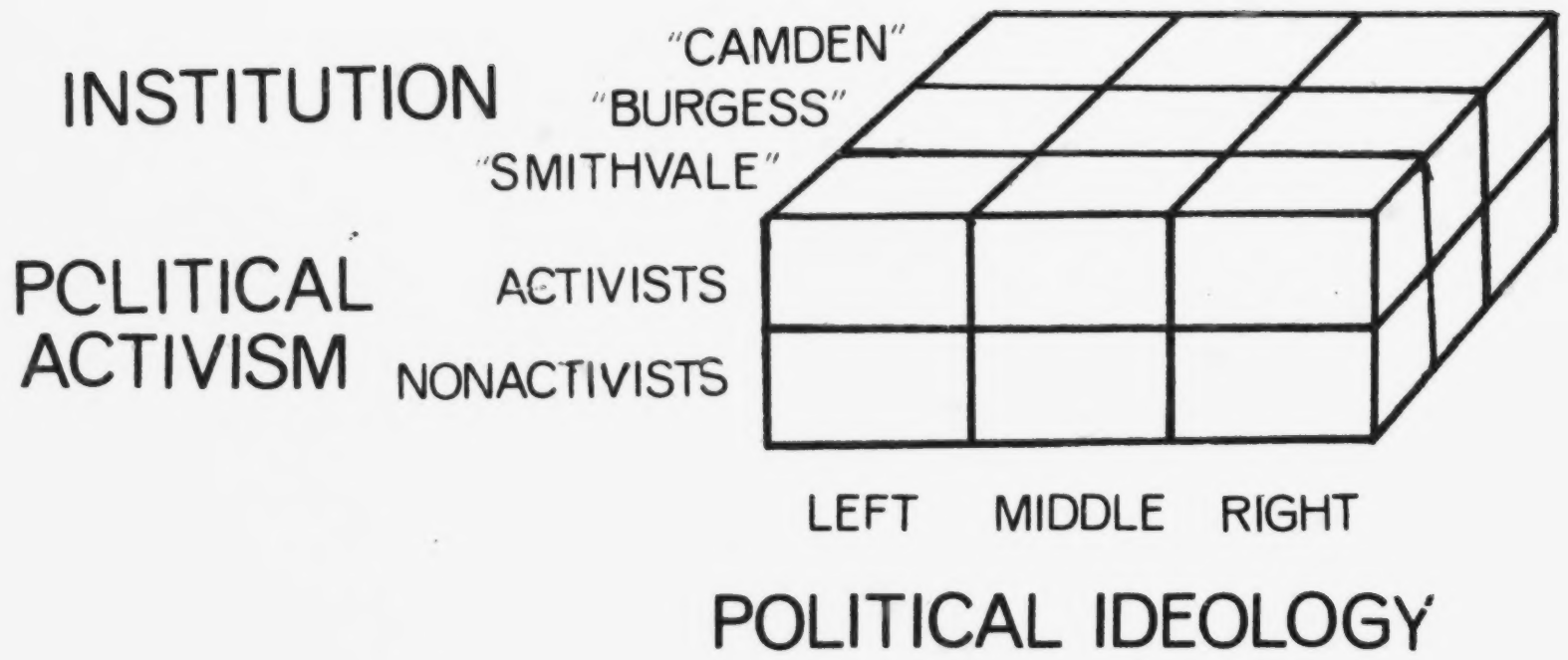

Figure 1. Schematic diagram of the research design.

CHAPTER II

METHOD

Sampling procedures and research instruments are important factors in a research project such as this one. As discussed in Chapter I, many of the previous investigations of the psychological determinants of student sociopolitical activism manifested incomplete sampling procedures or used measuring instruments of questionable validity for the purposes to which they were put. In this chapter, the sampling and response-measuring procedures are discussed in some detail, so that the strengths and limitations of the present study can be evaluated.

The Institutions

Each of the institutions at which this research was conducted had to fulfill several criteria: (a) each had to be an accredited, nationally known institution of higher education, not currently strongly affiliated with a religious body; (b) each had to be coeducational; (c) each had to be in the northeastern United States in order to be within relatively close traveling distance of the investigator's home base; (d) each had to have on the campus political activists of the right, the left, and the middle; (e) each had to have one person on campus who would agree to serve as a paid liaison person for the investigator; and (f) each had to grant the investigator administrative assent to undertake the research. In addition, each institution was selected to represent a different major type of institution of higher education, namely, a small private liberal arts college, a medium-sized private university, and a large public university.

As an initial step in the selection of the three institutions eventually to be included in this study, the investigator contacted colleagues at various colleges and universities that fulfilled institutional criteria (a), (b), and (c). These persons were asked whether there were visible left, middle, and right sociopolitical activist organizations on their campus (middle activist organizations were tentatively assumed to be the campus student government bodies). If there were such groups on campus, the colleague was asked whether he could suggest a possible liaison person, or consultant, on that campus. The suggested consultants were then contacted, the research project and their potential role in it was explained, and, if they were agreeable to serving a liaison function, they were asked to undertake for the investigator the necessary negotiations with the administration and with the campus organizations that would participate in the study. The consultants were paid a flat con-

sultant fee for their efforts during the course of this investigation. It was emphasized to the consultants, and through them to the administration and to the organizations, that the investigator would guarantee the anonymity of the institution, the organizations, and the individual students participating in the research.

After a few unrewarding leads, three institutions were selected which fulfilled all the criteria discussed above. Because of the promise of anonymity, they are described below, and designated throughout this report, by code names. Comparative characteristics of the institutions are presented in Table 1.

Smithvale College. Smithvale College is a small liberal arts college enrolling 1,075 undergraduates. As can be seen from Table 1, it is a highly select institution with a large proportion of the faculty holding the doctorate. It draws its students from all over the country, but mainly from the East coast. Many students live on the campus, which impressed the investigator as having an intimate, close, but active atmosphere where most students know one another. The consultant at Smithvale was a psychologist associated with the student counseling service. The research was conducted at Smithvale in the latter part of 1968. Shortly thereafter (and, it is assumed, unrelated to the present investigation), major campus demonstrations and counterdemonstrations occurred.

Burgess University. Burgess University is a medium-sized private university enrolling approximately 2,200 undergraduates. As indicated in Table 1, it, too, is a selective institution with a large proportion of the faculty holding the doctorate. The students are drawn from the entire country, with the largest group coming from New York and New England. Not as many undergraduates live on campus as at Smithvale, and the atmosphere on the Burgess campus impressed the investigator as being less sylvan and less close than, but as active as, Smithvale (if not more so). The consultant at Burgess was an undergraduate psychology major who was active in student affairs. The research was conducted at Burgess early in 1969. At that time, the campus was in the midst of significant protest and counterprotest activity.

University of Camden. The University of Camden is a large public university enrolling 12,965 undergraduate students. It draws its students largely from the state which it represents. Many of the faculty hold the doctorate. Like most state universities, it is not quite as select as the private institutions. Not as large a proportion of the students live on campus, and those who do tend to leave it on weekends to go home. The campus impressed the experimenter as being typical of many state universities--large, sprawling, and more impersonal because of its size. Yet the quality of the faculty, as judged by the proportion holding the doctorate, is high, and the quality of the undergraduate students is only slightly below that of the students at Smithvale and Burgess. The consultant at Camden was a graduate

Table 1

Characteristics of the Institutions

Characteristic	Institution		
	Smithvale	Burgess	Camden
Size			
Male undergraduates	580	1,085	7,220
Female undergraduates	495	1,105	5,745
Total undergraduates	1,075	2,190	12,965
Graduate students	0	600	2,835
Selectivity			
No. applications, Class of 1972	2,214	3,200	18,158
No. accepted, Class of 1972	517	1,150	9,584
Mean SAT verbal score, Class of 1972	702	680	548
Mean SAT mathematical score, Class of 1972	692	680	572
Family income (dollars), Class of 1972	Unavailable	17,000 (Mean)	9,130 (Median)
Living arrangements (Percent)			
Undergraduates in dormitories	90	70	58
Undergraduates in fraternity or sorority houses	0	0	18
Undergraduates off campus	7	20	24
Undergraduates at home	3	10	0
Majors (Percent)			
Business	0	0	8
Education	0	0	5
Engineering	8	0	8
Biological and Natural sciences	17	20	6
Humanities and Fine arts	38	30	17
Social sciences	37	50	12
Other	0	0	44[a]
Faculty			
Number	165	360	1,078
Percent holding doctorates	67	75	65

[a]Includes 24% freshmen and sophomores specifying only Arts and Sciences as a major.

student in psychology who had some knowledge of undergraduate student activities. The present investigation was undertaken at Camden late in 1968, during which time major demonstrations and counterdemonstrations were occurring on the campus.[1]

The Organizations

The initial step in the selection of the campus organizations that would be requested to participate in this study was to obtain a preliminary prerating of the political "character" of the various campus organizations. An Organization Rating Sheet was compiled for each campus. On it were listed the politically oriented organizations and a sampling of the nonpolitical organizations on that particular campus. Copies of this instrument were sent to all the faculty members in the political science department on each campus, asking them to rate, to the best of their knowledge, the political character of the organizations listed. The form of the Organization Rating Sheet is reproduced in Appendix A (with all identifying information removed to preserve the anonymity of the institutions and organizations). On the basis of the faculty raters' responses (which are summarized in Chapter III), ideologically left, middle, and right sociopolitical "target" organizations were selected, as were politically nonactive organizations that received preratings describing their probable ideology as moderate. The leaders of the target organizations were then approached by the consultant for the purpose of discussing possible cooperation of the members of that organization in the research.

If the leaders of the organizations felt that their members would cooperate in the research, the consultant then approached the members, either at a regular meeting of the organization or via mail. The consultant explained the general nature of the research, stressed the anonymity of the procedures, indicated the time and payment that would be involved, gathered commitments of participation in the research, and scheduled the subjects (further details are presented below in Procedure). The organizations that participated in the research are discussed only in a general fashion below in order to preserve their anonymity.

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[1]Conducting research on student activism presents unique problems for the researcher. In addition to dealing with administrators who feel that their institution's reputation might be harmed, and with students who, with some justification from recent events, are suspicious of the nature of the research and the use to which it will be put, there are the practical problems of scheduling research appointments around planned demonstrations and counterdemonstrations that have the campus and the organizations in a turmoil, and of having to cancel research appointments that were scheduled when spontaneous demonstrations occurred. In all, it requires in the researcher a certain amount of flexibility and willingness to change plans.

Left activist organizations. At all three campuses, the left activist organizations were a local affiliate of a national student left organization. In addition, at Smithvale, an independent local left sociopolitical action organization was included.

Middle activist organizations. At all three institutions, elected representatives of the campus student government organization were included in the middle activist group. In addition, at Smithvale, an organization of students who had campaigned for a moderate-to-liberal candidate for governmental office, and at Camden, a student judiciary body, were included as middle activist groups.

Right activist organizations. At Smithvale, the right activist group consisted of the campus conservative organization. At Burgess, it consisted of a very loosely organized body that had tenuous connections with a national conservative organization, plus a campus right-of-center political club. The right activist group at Camden included a local campus organization formed to protest the activities of the campus left organizations, plus a campus right-of-center political club.

Nonactivist organizations. Members of clubs which were not political in nature, who, in addition, did not belong to any of the activist organizations discussed above, were the subjects for the politically nonactivist subgroups in this research. As was indicated in Chapter I, this was done, rather than using randomly selected students, to control for "organization-joining," or "participatory activity," between the activist and nonactivist subjects. From these nonpolitical clubs, subjects were assigned, on the basis of their responses to questionnaires administered to them during the research procedures, to politically nonactivist left, middle, and right political ideology subgroups. At all three institutions, these clubs consisted of interest and hobby clubs, campus service organizations, preprofessional clubs, and the like.

The Instruments

The data-gathering instruments are described in this section in the order in which they were administered to the subjects. Instruments which are not copyrighted are reproduced in Appendix B. Copyrighted, commercially available questionnaires used in the present study are not reproduced in this report: specimen sets are generally available to qualified researchers from the publisher.

Code Number Instructions (CNI). This brief instrument, devised by the author and reproduced in Appendix B, enabled each subject to assign himself a unique 15-digit identification number based upon a coded combination of demographic variables descriptive of him. This code number was then placed on all the questionnaire material that the subject subsequently completed. The code number provided the investigator with a method of keeping an accurate record of all answer sheets

and with demographic data for each subject while still completely preserving each subject's anonymity. Since names were not requested, there is no way of identifying any individual with any of the questionnaire responses.

Control Test AA (CTAA). Devised for research purposes by the Institutional Research Program for Higher Education, Educational Testing Service (Peterson, 1965), the Control Test AA is a 30-item group measure of college-level academic aptitude. It includes quantitative, as well as purely verbal, items. It has a 12-minute time limit. The possible range of scores is from 7 to 30. The test has received both moderate predictive validity support (Peterson, 1968a) and moderate concurrent validity support (Kerpelman, 1969a) as a group measure of academic ability. In the former study it correlated between .39 and .51 with grade point averages at three colleges, and in the latter study it correlated .33 and .34 with other measures of academic ability.

Survey of Interpersonal Values (SIV). Devised by Gordon (1960), the Survey of Interpersonal Values is a forced-choice format instrument which provides indices of six basic motivational patterns, or values, important in everyday life. It consists of 30 sets of three statements each. Extensively investigated by Gordon and by others, this instrument has been demonstrated to have high test-retest reliability (.71 to .86 for the various scales) and high construct, criterion, and predictive validity; to be negligibly correlated with various measures of intelligence (-.22 to +.17); and to be difficult to fake (Gordon, 1960, 1963b). The six values which the SIV measures are defined as follows:

S - Support: Being treated with understanding, receiving encouragement from other people, being treated with kindness and consideration.

C - Conformity: Doing what is socially correct, following regulations closely, doing what is accepted and proper, being a conformist.

R - Recognition: Being looked up to and admired, being considered important, attracting favorable notice, achieving recognition.

I - Independence: Having the right to do whatever one wants to do, being free to make one's own decisions, being able to do things in one's own way.

B - Benevolence: Doing things for other people, sharing with others, helping the unfortunate, being generous.

L - Leadership: Being in charge of other people, having

> authority over others, being in a position of leadership or power [Gordon, 1960, p. 3].

The possible score ranges are: S Scale, 1-30; C Scale, 1-30; R Scale, 1-25; I Scale, 1-32; B Scale, 1-30; and L Scale, 1-32, with the higher score indicating a greater amount of the characteristic named by the scale.

Gordon Personal Profile (GPP). This widely used instrument is a measure of "four aspects of personality which are significant in the daily functioning of the normal person" (Gordon, 1963a, p. 3). It consists of 18 sets of four descriptive phrases, each tetrad being in a forced-choice format. This measure is quite reliable (test-retest, at a 3-month interval, coefficients of .80 to .87 for the 4 scales, split-half reliability coefficients of from .84 to .88), has received extensive validation, and is only slightly susceptible to distortion by faking (Gordon, 1963a).

The four personality characteristics which it measures are:

1. Ascendancy (A) - High scores on this scale indicate being self-assured, assertive, and active in groups. Low scores indicate lack of self-confidence and passivity in groups.

2. Responsibility (R) - High scores on this scale indicate perseverance, determination, and reliability in doing a job. Low scores indicate flightiness, irresponsibility, and an inability to stick to a task which has little interest.

3. Emotional Stability (E) - As the name of this scale suggests, high scores on it indicate emotional stability and relative freedom from anxiety. Low scores are associated with anxiety, ego defensiveness, and low frustration tolerance.

4. Sociability (S) - Gregariousness and liking to be with people are correlated with high scores on this scale. Social introversion and restriction of social contacts are associated with low scores.

The maximum possible score on each scale is 36.

Politico-Economic Conservatism Scale (PEC). This Likert-type scale was used to measure the subjects' political ideology, one of the two criterion variables. Levinson's (1959) 12-item revision of the Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, and Sanford (1950, especially pp. 157-168) PEC Scale was the basic instrument used. Several items of Levinson's scale were modified slightly, on the basis of results of a previous study (Kerpelman, 1969b), to control acquiescence set and to make the scale more current. The scale used in the present investigation is reproduced in Appendix B. Scores on this scale could range from 1 to 7, with low scores indicating political liberalism and high scores indicating politico-economic conservatism.

The construct validity of the PEC Scale has been demonstrated in previous investigations. Kerpelman (1968) demonstrated that a general Liberal-Conservative factor loaded .89 on the PEC Scale in a discriminant pattern analysis. Kerpelman (1969b) also found a 3-point (out of 7) difference between left activists and right activists on this scale. The PEC Scale has also been demonstrated (Kerpelman, 1969b) to have high (.87) split-half reliability. In the present investigation, this scale was the basis for screening and assigning subjects to the appropriate political ideology categories.

Activity Scale (ACT). This scale was used to give a quantitative measure of the second criterion variable, political activism. Devised by the author and Michael Weiner, this 24-item, 5-point scale assesses students' actual and desired activism in terms of physical participation, communication activities, and information-gathering activities related to political and social issues. Previous research (Kerpelman, 1969b) indicated good construct validity for the scale. In that research, activists were found to score significantly higher than nonactivists on both ACT subscales. High reliability was also found for the Activity Scale--split-half reliabilities were .93 and .96 for the two subscales (Kerpelman, 1969b). On the basis of that previous research, six items were revised slightly for the instrument used in the current investigation. The scale used is reproduced in Appendix B.

The Activity Scale is divided into two subscales. The first 12 items (ACT-A) question subjects on their Actual Activity, i.e., the actual frequency of participation in various sociopolitical activities during the prior 3 years. The remaining 12 items (ACT-D) ask the respondent to indicate his Desired Activity, i.e., the desired frequency of participation in the same activity during the same period had the respondent been free of all obligations. Scores on each scale could range from 12 (low activity) to 60 (high activity). In the present study, ACT-A scores served to confirm quantitatively that the political activism-nonactivism criterion was an appropriate one.

Quick Word Test (QWT). The Quick Word Test, Form Am, Level 2, was the second measure of intellectual ability used in the present study. Devised by Borgatta and Corsini (1964), it is a rapid, 100-item group test of verbal ability. Scores could range from 20 to 100. Form Am, Level 2, of the QWT was standardized on a college freshman normative sample, and it thus enables fine differentiations in intelligence to be made even within high intelligence groups such as those studied in the present project. The form used correlates reasonably well (.58 to .80) with other group-administered tests of mental ability, and it has high (.90) split-half reliability (Borgatta & Corsini, 1964).

Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey (GZTS). The GZTS is a factor-analytically derived scale that purports to measure ten aspects of personality in high school, college, and older groups. Respondents mark Yes, No, or ? to each of 300 items. Although only moderately

reliable (.75 to .87 reliability coefficients for the various subscales) and with validity data not as clear-cut as most of the other scales used (Guilford and Zimmerman, 1949), it was included for the sake of whatever further elucidation it might give to certain additional personality facets.

The five scales (of 30 items each) chosen for use in the present research were as follows: Restraint-Impulsiveness (R), Ascendance-Submissiveness (A), Social Interest-Shyness (S), Emotional Stability-Emotional Instability (E), and Objectivity-Subjectivity (O). The possible range of scores for all the scales is 0-30, high scores indicative of the first-named trait of each scale, and low scores indicative of the last-named trait.

Campus Activities List (CAL). This instrument simply asked the subject to list all campus activities to which he belonged. It was used both to obtain a measure of the number of extracurricular activities engaged in by members of the various groups and to eliminate nonactivist subjects who belonged to political activist organizations. The Campus Activities List is reproduced in Appendix B.

Procedure

Administration of the research instruments was done by the investigator in the evening. Left activist, middle activist, right activist, and nonactivist organizations were generally scheduled for separate two-hour time periods.

The subjects were seated at separate desks in groups ranging in size from 4 to 35 students. At each desk was a booklet containing all the questionnaires and two pencils. The experimenter introduced himself and indicated in general terms that the nature of the research was to assess the personality, attitudes, and values of college students of all kinds. Anonymity of the students, their organizations, and their institutions was stressed and guaranteed. The experimenter indicated that each subject would be paid immediately upon satisfactory completion of his questionnaire booklet, the payment being consistent with the prevailing hourly rate for student workers at that particular institution. In addition, with the nonactivist groups, the experimenter also requested those students who also belonged to any kind of political organization to identify themselves. This was done so that these students' data could be eliminated from the nonactivist data pool. These subjects were told that they would be paid the subject fee in any case. This was done to allay the temptation not to report membership in a political organization for fear of losing payment as a subject. The experimenter then answered any questions, after which he led the subjects in completing their code identification numbers. The next instrument, the Control Test AA, was timed. After that, the subjects went on to complete the remaining questionnaires at their own rate of speed. Instructions for completing each successive questionnaire were printed in

the questionnaire booklet. Upon completion of the entire questionnaire booklet (which normally took 1½ to 2 hours), each student brought his booklet to the experimenter, who checked the answer sheets for missing responses and then paid the student for his participation.

In all, 83 students comprised the preliminary subject pool at Smithvale College, 92 at Burgess University, and 109 at the University of Camden, for a total of 284 students.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

Since so large an amount of data was collected, it may help to describe initially the exposition of this chapter. First, the political science faculty preratings of the "target" organizations are discussed. Then, the criterion screening of the subjects, based upon the independent variables of organization membership and Politico-Economic Conservatism Scale scores, is described. A general examination of the final samples follows. The main results are then presented in two ways: (a) examination of each dependent variable measure and how the subgroups performed in relation to each other on each, and (b) examination of the characteristics of the research subgroups as revealed by a multivariate analysis of the data. Finally, supplementary results, bearing upon commitment in left activists, are presented.

Organization Preratings

The preratings by the political science faculty of the potential target organizations at Smithvale and at Camden are indicated in Tables 2 and 3, respectively. The political science department faculty returns at Burgess were so few that those data could not be used in the preselection of the target organizations, and consequently they are not reported here.

At Smithvale, Organizations SA and SB, with a weighted mean prerating of 1.00, were chosen as the organizations to be included in the left activist cell of the research design. Organizations SC and SD (mean weighted prerating = 2.00) were chosen to be included in the middle activist cell, and Organization SE (mean weighted prerating = 4.00) was selected for the right activist cell. There was unanimity of the judges in their preratings of the activist groups, and, except for Organization SE, their prerating was based upon fairly good knowledge of the groups.

The politically nonactivist subjects at Smithvale were selected from Organizations SF, SG, SI, and SJ (mean weighted prerating = 2.55). Interrater reliability for the nonactive organizations was only moderate, and judges' ratings of these organizations were based upon less information than were their ratings of the activist organizations. The political "character" of all the nonactivist organizations at Smithvale

Table 2

Political Ideology Preratings of Target Organizations by Political Science Faculty at Smithvale College[a]

Organization	No. ratings per rating category[b]					Judgment basis		Mean pre-rating
	1	2	3	4	5	Good information	Little information	
Politically active organizations								
Organization SA	6					6		1.00
Organization SB	6					6		1.00
Organization SC		6				5	1	2.00
Organization SD		6				4	2	2.00
Organization SE				5			5	4.00
Politically nonactive organizations								
Organization SF		4	1			1	4	2.20
Organization SG	1	2	2			2	3	2.20
Organization SH		2	3			1	4	2.60
Organization SI		1	4				5	2.80
Organization SJ			5				5	3.00
Organization SK		1	3	1		1	4	3.00
Organization SL			5	1		3	3	3.17
Organization SM			4	1			5	3.20

[a]Six out of six faculty members responded.

[b]"Extremely politically liberal" = 1; "Extremely politically conservative" = 5 (see Appendix A).

Table 3

Political Ideology Preratings of Target Organizations by Political Science Faculty at the University of Camden[a]

Organization	No. ratings per rating category[b]					Judgment basis		Mean pre-rating
	1	2	3	4	5	Good information	Little information	
Politically active organizations								
Organization CA	9		2			7	4	1.36
Organization CB	5	3	1			2	7	1.56
Organization CC		5	3			3	5	2.38
Organization CD	2	2	1	2		1	6	2.43
Organization CE	1	4	1		1	1	6	2.43
Organization CF		4	3	1		4	4	2.63
Organization CG		2	2	3	1	3	5	3.38
Organization CH		1	1	6	1	4	5	3.78
Organization CI			1	1	3	2	3	4.40
Politically nonactive organizations								
Organization CJ		1	5				6	2.83
Organization CK		1	6				7	2.86
Organization CL		1	6			1	6	2.86
Organization CM		1	8			1	8	2.89

[a]Eleven out of twenty faculty members responded.

[b]"Extremely politically liberal" = 1; "Extremely politically conservative" = 5 (see Appendix A).

was seen by the faculty raters as falling toward the left side of the spectrum. The four clubs chosen for inclusion in this study were chosen on the basis of the availability of members to participate in the research, the number of members likely to participate, and the range of estimated political ideologies represented.

At Camden, Organization CA, with a weighted mean prerating of 1.36, was selected for inclusion in the left activist subgroup of the research design. Organizations CF and CG, with a mean weighted prerating of 3.00, were selected as the middle activists, and Organizations CH and CI, with a mean weighted prerating of 4.00, were selected as the right activists. Interrater reliability and raters' knowledge of the organizations were only moderate for these organizations.

The politically nonactivist subjects at Camden were selected from Organizations CJ and CM (mean weighted prerating = 2.87). While the interrater reliability for these organizations was fairly good, the information on which the ratings were based was not. The organizations chosen for inclusion in this study at Camden were chosen for the same reasons as were the organizations at Smithvale. On the basis of the prerating returns at Smithvale and at Camden, it seemed reasonable to believe that the left, middle, and right activist organizations chosen to participate would indeed be very likely to include members who were left, middle, and right in political orientation.

Due to the lack of prerating returns at Burgess University, the investigator relied upon the consultant's knowledge of the various campus organizations in approaching and selecting organizations to participate in this study. Since the purpose of the preratings was only to ascertain which organizations were likely to consist of subjects who would be appropriate for inclusion in this study, and since the preratings were not the criterion of political ideology of the subjects, this could be done without vitiating the research results. The method used to screen subjects for their orientation on the criterion variable of socio-political ideology is discussed in the section below.

Criterion Screening

As indicated above, the left, middle, and right activists were only preselected, on the basis of their membership in left, middle, and right organizations (as indicated by the preratings), for inclusion in those respective cells of the research design. The final selection of activist subjects for the three ideology subgroups was made on the basis of their scores on the Politico-Economic Conservatism Scale which was administered to all subjects as part of the research procedure. In other words, being a member of a prerated left, middle, or right activist organization was insufficient for inclusion as a left, middle, or right activist in this research. In addition, a student had to score within the left, middle, or right range, respectively, of the Politico-Economic Conservatism Scale. For example,

students who belonged to a prerated left activism organization but who scored in the middle or right ranges of the PEC Scale were dropped. In a similar fashion, left, middle, and right politically nonactive subjects were assigned to their respective ideology subgroups on the basis of the PEC Scale scores.

To accomplish this, frequency distributions of the PEC Scale scores were constructed for each institution. The PEC Scale raw score data from which the distributions were derived are presented in Tables 4 and 5. It is apparent immediately that it was in the nature of the three institutions that political ideology, as measured by the PEC Scale, was distributed differently among the institutions. Specifically, the students at Smithvale and Burgess were more left in their ideology than were the students at Camden.[2] Since the students at Smithvale and at Burgess scored lower on the PEC Scale (more to the left politically) overall than the students at Camden, the use of the same raw score cutting points would have resulted in almost no right subjects at the former two schools and few left subjects at the latter institution. Consequently, it was decided to use percentile cutting points on the PEC Scale, rather than raw score cutting points, at each institution as the basis for assigning students to political ideology subgroups. The result was that the subject pool at each institution served as its own norm group for the PEC Scale scores.

The PEC Scale percentile ranges used for selection of left, middle, and right subjects at all three institutions were selected so as to result in the elimination of the fewest subjects. Of course, when nonoverlapping distributions are "forced," as was done here, there is an unavoidable loss of some subjects. It was felt, however, that the statistical power lost from the elimination of subjects would be more than made up for in conceptual refinement by having nonoverlapping, "pure" activism by ideology cells, i.e., cells in which only those subjects in a left activist organization who scored on the left end of the PEC Scale continuum, in which only those subjects in the middle activist organizations who scored in the mid-range of the PEC Scale, and in which only those members of right activist organizations who scored on the right end of the PEC Scale range, were included.

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[2]In fact, the mean scores on the PEC Scale of all groups combined at each of the institutions ($\underline{M}$ = 2.68 at Smithvale, $\underline{M}$ = 2.78 at Burgess, and $\underline{M}$ = 3.44 at Camden) were markedly more toward the left end of the continuum than was the overall mean PEC Scale score of a group of 258 evening school students ($\underline{M}$ = 4.45) as reported by Kerpelman (1968). It appears, then, that these college students in 1968-69 are decidedly more liberal than a "norm" group of older students in 1964. The data from the University of Camden are comparable, however, to the mean PEC Scale score of 3.91 for younger college students participating more recently in a similar study at another large northeastern public university (Kerpelman, 1969b).

Table 4

Politico-Economic Conservatism Scale Raw Score Data
for Activist Groups Before Criterion Screening

Institution	Prerated Ideology											
	Left				Middle				Right			
	M	SD	Range	N	M	SD	Range	N	M	SD	Range	N
Smithvale	1.71	0.52	1.00-2.83	23	2.37	0.85	1.25-4.67	20	4.79	1.00	3.83-6.00	7
Burgess	1.90	0.68	1.17-3.50	14	2.28	0.96	1.50-4.17	11	3.43	1.14	1.67-5.58	10
Camden	2.42	0.97	1.00-4.92	36	3.42	0.57	2.67-4.25	11	4.49	0.91	2.75-6.17	12

Table 5

Politico-Economic Conservatism Scale Raw Score Data for Nonactivist Groups Before Criterion Screening

Institution	M	SD	Range	N
Smithvale	3.11	1.01	1.25-5.00	33
Burgess	2.97	1.00	1.17-4.83	57
Camden	3.93	0.77	1.58-5.33	50

The percentile cutting points selected were, for the left ideology groups, the 1.0 through 24.9 percentile; for the middle ideology groups, the 25.0 through 74.9 percentile; and for the right ideology groups, the 75.0 through 99.9 percentile. The selection percentile ranges and corresponding raw score data for the PEC Scale are presented in Table 6. The numbers of subjects given in Table 6 are the final Ns of the subgroups in this research. All data presented subsequently are for these finally selected subjects only.

The single criterion for assignment to an activist or nonactivist group was membership in a politically active organization or in a politically nonactive organization, respectively. The nonactivists had to fulfill the further requirement of not belonging to any political activist campus organizations. This was ascertained by responses to the experimenter's request for nonactivist subjects who were members of both kinds of organizations to identify themselves, and by examination of all subjects' responses on the Campus Activities List. A quantitative measure of amount of actual activism engaged in was also obtained in order to verify the extent of political activism of the groups on the activism-nonactivism dimension: results of that measure are discussed in the section entitled Personality, Attitude, and Intelligence Measures, below.

The sole criterion for assignment to one of the three institution groupings was self-reported status as a registered student at that institution. One subject at each institution was eliminated from the study because he was not a registered student.

Before leaving the discussion of the criterion screening, it may be worthwhile to comment upon the subsample sizes. Because of the forced "purity" of the ideology categories, there were fewer subjects in some cells than might be thought optimal. It is not felt that this would vitiate the results of this study, however, because the analysis of variance statistic used for the data analysis combines across cells for the main effects and for the two-way interactions. Only in the case of the three-way interaction would cell size necessarily cause some concern about interpretation of the data, and in the case of some simple effects it might lead to caution in interpretation. For all the main and two-way interaction effects, however, the sample size of individual cells should not be cause for reservation.

Characteristics of the Samples

Demographic data, descriptive of each subject group, were obtained from the subjects' identification code. The data for organization membership are presented in Table 7. Except at Burgess University, the distributions of leaders and members among the various organizations at each institution are similar. It should be noted that these data for the left activist organizations may be misleading, however, for the members of these groups at all three institutions claimed that

Table 6

Descriptive Data for Politico-Economic Conservatism Scale
After Criterion Screening

Institution	Activism	Ideology											
		Left (Lowest 25%)				Middle (Middle 50%)				Right (Highest 25%)			
		M	SD	Range	N	M	SD	Range	N	M	SD	Range	N
Smithvale	Activists	1.29	0.17	1.00 to	12	2.42	0.49	1.70 to	13	4.79	1.01	3.50 to	7
	Nonactivists	1.42	0.14	1.69	3	2.65	0.55	3.49	17	4.09	0.50	7.00	13
Burgess	Activists	1.42	0.14	1.00 to	7	2.08	0.34	1.70 to	5	4.37	0.72	3.50 to	5
	Nonactivists	1.44	0.20	1.69	9	2.75	0.51	3.49	30	4.11	0.36	7.00	18
Camden	Activists	1.78	0.48	1.00 to	22	3.34	0.53	2.60 to	10	4.95	0.65	4.10 to	8
	Nonactivists	2.00	0.59	2.59	2	3.51	0.35	4.09	27	4.66	0.32	7.00	21

Table 7

Descriptive Data for Organization Membership

Institution	Activism	Ideology					
		Left		Middle		Right	
		Number leaders	Number members	Number leaders	Number members	Number leaders	Number members
Smithvale	Activists	3	9	6	7	2	5
	Nonactivists	2	1	4	13	2	11
Burgess	Activists	7	0	2	3	2	3
	Nonactivists	2	7	14	16	5	13
Camden	Activists	11	11	1	9	2	6
	Nonactivists	0	2	9	18	7	14

there were no hierarchical designations of leaders and members made in their organizations, and consequently they marked that particular code item spuriously. As can be seen in Table 8, sex was distributed among the Burgess and Camden organizations relatively unevenly. In Table 9, the data for major area of study are presented. As can be seen in the Code Number Instructions (Appendix B), subjects had their choice of 12 categories of major. These categories were combined for tabular presentation into five classifications. Examination of Table 9 reveals that a preponderance of students major in the arts, humanities, and social sciences. There are also apparent differences among the institutions. Smithvale and Burgess students are even more heavily overrepresented in the "hard" sciences and in the humanities and social sciences than are Camden students. Chi-squares were not calculated for any of the data discussed above, as cell frequencies were such that too many low expected frequencies would have occurred, violating the assumptions for the chi-square.

Data for the variables of age, year in school, number of years spent at the particular institution, and number of campus activities engaged in (obtained from the Campus Activities List) are presented in Tables 10, 11, 12, and 13, respectively. Because these are all continuous variables, an analysis of variance was computed for each measure to ascertain any differences among the research subgroups. Preliminary to computing analyses of variance, Cochran's tests (Eisenhart, Hastay, and Wallis, 1947, ch. 15) for heterogeneity of variance were performed on the variances of all Institution X Activism X Ideology cells. The results of the Cochran's tests, for all the continuous measures, are reported in Table 37, Appendix C. The acceptable level of statistical significance for all statistical tests used throughout this research was $p < .05$. Of the demographic variables under discussion here, only number of activities departed significantly from homogeneity of variance. A parametric analysis of variance for this measure was therefore inappropriate, but it was computed nevertheless, for the sake of comparability with the other measures. It should be interpreted with marked reservations, however.

The least squares solution unequal frequency analyses of variance (Harvey, 1960) of the four demographic variables are presented in Tables 38, 39, 40, and 41 in Appendix D. All three main effects for age were significant. The nonactivists were, overall, significantly older than the activists. Newman-Keuls analyses indicated that the left-oriented students were older than the middle and right students, and that the students at Camden were significantly older than those at the other two institutions. Newman-Keuls analyses of the Institution main effect for year in school and year at the institution indicated that the students at Camden were at a higher year level and had been at their institution longer than those at Burgess or Smithvale. The analysis for number of activities indicated that the activists engaged in significantly more campus activities than the nonactivists; Newman-Keuls analysis of the Institution main effect revealed that the Smithvale students, overall,

Table 8

Descriptive Data for Sex

Institution	Activism	Ideology					
		Left		Middle		Right	
		Number males	Number females	Number males	Number females	Number males	Number females
Smithvale	Activists	6	6	7	6	7	0
	Nonactivists	3	0	11	6	11	2
Burgess	Activists	4	3	5	0	5	0
	Nonactivists	2	7	20	10	13	5
Camden	Activists	11	11	6	4	5	3
	Nonactivists	1	1	2	25	7	14

Table 9

Descriptive Data for Major

Institution	Activism	Ideology	Major				
			Number of biological, natural, physical sciences majors	Number of business, engineering majors	Number of arts, humanities, social sciences majors	Number of education majors	Number of other majors
Smithvale	Activists	Left	0	1	11	0	0
		Middle	2	0	11	0	0
		Right	1	3	3	0	0
	Nonactivists	Left	1	0	2	0	0
		Middle	4	0	11	0	2
		Right	4	1	8	0	0
Burgess	Activists	Left	0	0	7	0	0
		Middle	0	0	5	0	0
		Right	2	0	3	0	0
	Nonactivists	Left	1	0	8	0	0
		Middle	9	0	20	0	1
		Right	9	1	8	0	0
Camden	Activists	Left	1	0	19	1	1
		Middle	0	1	9	0	0
		Right	0	2	5	0	1
	Nonactivists	Left	0	0	1	1	0
		Middle	3	1	13	6	4
		Right	7	2	6	5	0

Table 10

Descriptive Data for Age

Institution	Activism	Ideology					
		Left		Middle		Right	
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Smithvale	Activists	19.67	1.44	18.85	1.07	18.71	0.95
	Nonactivists	20.33	1.16	19.24	1.75	19.23	1.42
Burgess	Activists	19.14	0.90	19.80	1.48	19.20	1.30
	Nonactivists	19.78	1.20	20.00	1.23	20.06	1.11
Camden	Activists	20.91	2.25	20.30	1.16	19.88	0.84
	Nonactivists	22.50	3.54	20.33	0.92	20.48	1.72

Table 11

Descriptive Data for Year in School

Institution	Activism	Ideology					
		Left		Middle		Right	
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Smithvale	Activists	3.00	1.54	2.46	0.88	2.00	0.58
	Nonactivists	3.33	1.16	2.41	1.23	2.62	1.12
Burgess	Activists	2.29	0.95	2.80	1.30	2.20	1.30
	Nonactivists	2.56	0.73	2.83	1.12	3.06	0.87
Camden	Activists	3.27	1.20	3.20	1.03	3.00	0.54
	Nonactivists	4.00	1.41	3.26	0.71	3.19	1.03

Table 12

Descriptive Data for Years at Institution

Institution	Activism	Ideology					
		Left		Middle		Right	
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Smithvale	Activists	2.50	1.45	2.39	0.96	1.86	0.38
	Nonactivists	3.33	1.16	2.35	1.22	2.46	1.05
Burgess	Activists	2.14	0.90	2.80	1.30	2.20	1.30
	Nonactivists	2.56	1.01	2.80	1.10	3.06	0.87
Camden	Activists	3.27	1.80	3.00	1.05	3.00	0.54
	Nonactivists	3.00	0.00	3.22	0.80	3.10	1.18

Table 13

Descriptive Data for Number of Activities

Institution	Activism	Ideology					
		Left		Middle		Right	
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Smithvale	Activists	3.92	3.29	4.46	1.45	5.43	5.44
	Nonactivists	3.33	0.58	2.47	1.28	3.08	1.12
Burgess	Activists	3.71	2.14	2.80	1.10	2.60	1.14
	Nonactivists	2.22	0.97	3.20	1.58	2.50	1.04
Camden	Activists	1.96	1.21	4.00	1.70	2.00	1.07
	Nonactivists	1.00	0.00	2.93	1.44	3.05	1.77

engaged in more campus activities than those at Camden or Burgess. Simple effects analysis at each institution of the Institution X Ideology interaction indicated a significant effect at Camden only ($F = 5.77$, $df = 2/87$, $p < .01$) which, Newman-Keuls analysis revealed, was due to the middle and right students engaging in significantly more campus activities than the left students. All of this discussion concerning number of activities should be viewed as extremely tentative, however, for the reasons of heterogeneity of variance discussed above.

It should be noted, finally, in considering the characteristics of the samples, that almost all the subjects who participated in the present study were white. Since information on race was not requested from the subjects, it is difficult to determine exactly how many subjects were not white. It is the experimenter's necessarily rough observation that not more than fifteen subjects appeared to be black, oriental, or American indian. This apparently reflected the makeup of the institutions' student bodies and the organizations' memberships. No effort was made to include black activist organizations in the present study, as it was felt that the black activism movement, like the high school activism movement, is a different enough kind of phenomenon to deserve special attention in and of itself.

Personality, Attitude, and Intelligence Measures

The discussion of the results of the questionnaire instruments in this section is organized around logical groupings of the measures rather than being presented in the order that the questionnaires were administered. The logical groupings are those which, in an a priori, common-sense fashion, seem to describe facets of the same general area of functioning, rather than being empirically derived factors that, on any kind of empirical basis, have been determined to belong together. For each questionnaire scale, descriptive data (means and standard deviations) of each subgroup are presented first. Then the results of the analysis of variance, performed to ascertain differences along the dimensions of institution, activism, and ideology for each measure, are presented.

As was indicated above, Cochran's tests for heterogeneity of variance were performed preliminary to computing the analyses of variance. The results of this test for each of the personality, attitude, and intelligence instruments are also presented in Table 37, Appendix C. Of the questionnaire measures, the Control Test AA and the Responsibility Scale of the Gordon Personal Profile, plus the Recognition, Conformity, and Benevolence Scales of the Survey of Interpersonal Values, were found to manifest statistically significant departures from homogeneity of variance. Examination of the variances for these measures indicates that, in the case of the SIV R and B Scales and the GPP R Scale, the variance of these measures for the left nonactivists at Camden was very small, due, most likely, to the small N in that cell,

and in the case of the CTAA the variance for the left nonactivist cell at Smithvale was small for probably the same reason. In the case of the SIV C Scale, the variance for the right activist cell at Smithvale was very large. In light of the fact that there was only one marked departure from the range of the other variances for each of the questionnaire measures for which heterogeneity was found, and in light of the demonstrations of the only slight effects of moderate heterogeneity of variance on the assumptions for parametric analyses of variance (Myers[3]; Norton, cited in Lindquist, 1953, pp. 81-85), parametric analyses of variance were computed for all measures. Only in the case of number of activities, as was discussed above, was a parametric analysis clearly inappropriate. To be statistically conservative, however, the analysis of variance results for the CTAA, the GPP R Scale, and the SIV R, C, and B Scales should be interpreted with some caution.

Activism. The Activity Scale was included to give quantitative support to the assumption that members of political activist organizations were more politically active than members of nonactivist organizations. The descriptive data presented in Table 14 for the Activism-Actual Scale, and the analysis of variance of this scale presented in Appendix D, Table 42, indicate that this assumption was correct. The activist subjects scored significantly higher than the nonactivists on this scale, as can be inferred from the significant Activism main effect. Significant Institution and Ideology main effects were also found. Newman-Keuls analysis of the former indicated that the students at Burgess, as a whole, were significantly more active than those at Camden and at Smithvale. Newman-Keuls analysis of the latter main effect indicated that the left students as a whole were significantly more active than the right students. Since there was a significant Activism X Ideology interaction also (shown in Figure 2), simple effects analyses of variance at each ideology were performed. They revealed that the activist students scored significantly higher than the nonactivists on the ACT-A Scale at all three ideology levels ($F = 47.01$, $df = 1/53$, $p < .001$ for the left students, $F = 31.32$, $df = 1/100$, $p < .001$ for the middle students, and $F = 17.68$, $df = 1/70$, $p < .001$ for the right students). All of the activist-nonactivist differences were consistently in the same direction, but the magnitudes of the differences, while statistically significant, were not consistent, thus accounting for the interaction.

The Activism-Desired Scale is not a measure of the criterion variable of actual activism in which the respondent engaged, but is rather a more "projective" measure of the amount of activism the respondent would like to have engaged in. Scores on the ACT-D Scale are summarized in Table 15; the analysis of variance is summarized in Table 43, Appendix D. The activists, as compared with the nonactivists, not only actually

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[3]Jerome L. Myers, Personal communication, June 1969.

Table 14

Descriptive Data for Activism—Actual Scale

Institution	Activism	Ideology					
		Left		Middle		Right	
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Smithvale	Activists	40.83	8.67	27.69	4.66	27.43	5.71
	Nonactivists	25.00	6.56	21.59	5.29	20.39	6.65
Burgess	Activists	46.14	6.44	36.40	6.69	32.00	13.21
	Nonactivists	27.44	5.55	25.57	8.29	20.72	5.02
Camden	Activists	44.23	8.45	33.20	7.41	24.25	4.43
	Nonactivists	29.00	9.90	20.04	4.82	20.24	5.06

Note. - Preliminary normative data from 73 state university activist and nonactivist students (Kerpelman, 1969b) indicate a range of mean scores from 16.43 (right nonactivists) to 32.71 (left activists).

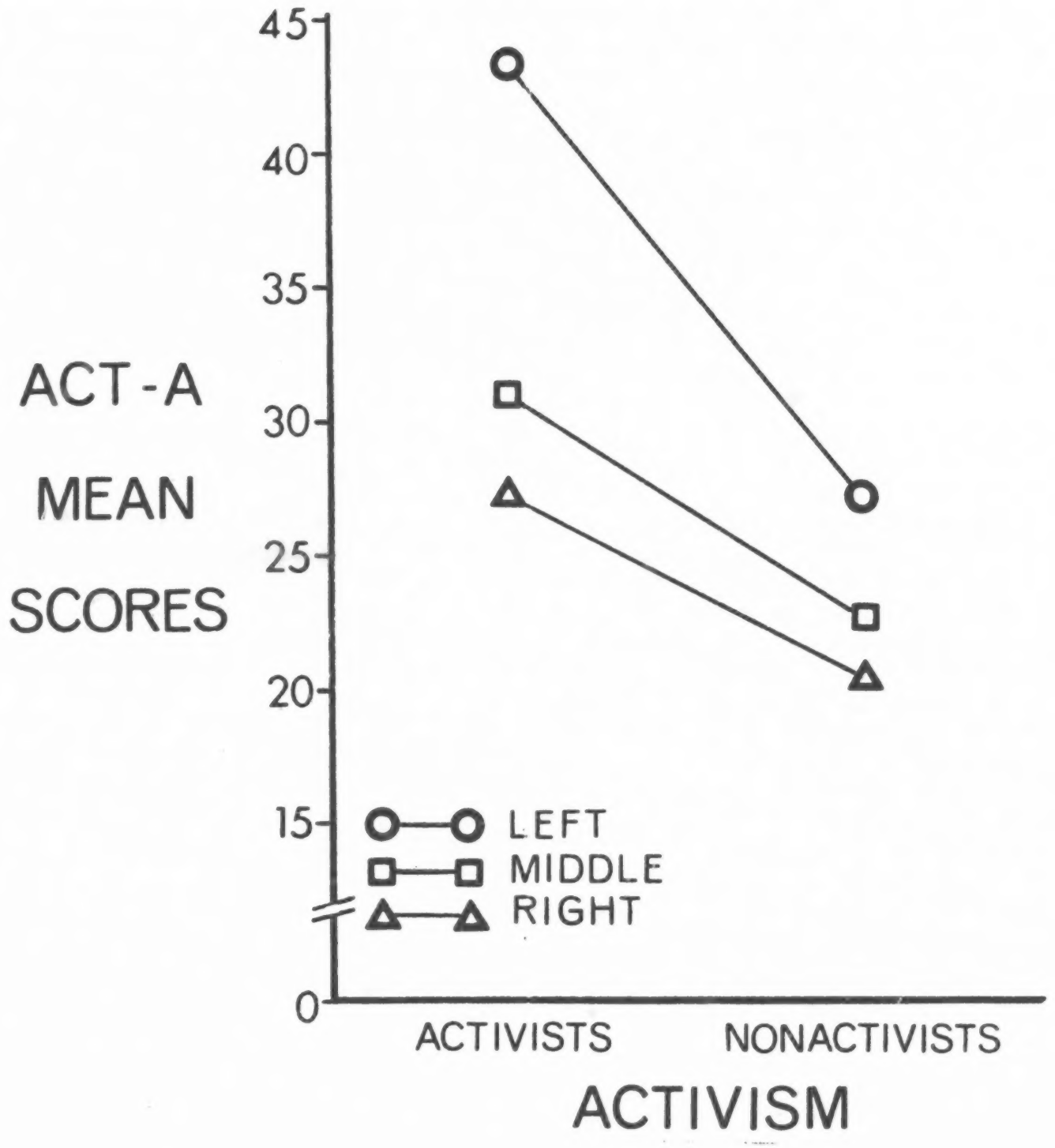

Figure 2. Activism X ideology interaction, Activity-Actual Scale.

Table 15

Descriptive Data for Activism-Desired Scale

Institution	Activism	Ideology					
		Left		Middle		Right	
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Smithvale	Activists	51.75	7.41	40.62	8.15	38.71	6.37
	Nonactivists	38.00	13.45	33.12	10.28	30.69	10.54
Burgess	Activists	52.57	4.50	50.40	2.07	43.00	12.63
	Nonactivists	38.78	7.05	35.27	9.82	28.11	9.28
Camden	Activists	51.50	7.02	49.70	4.60	37.75	6.34
	Nonactivists	47.00	8.49	30.82	9.80	30.05	8.77

Note. - Preliminary normative data from 73 state university activist and nonactivist students (Kerpelman, 1969b) indicate a range of mean scores from 24.07 (right nonactivists) to 48.71 (left activists).

engaged in more political activity, as indicated by their ACT-A responses, but also expressed the desire to have engaged in even more political activity, as indicated by their ACT-D responses. The results of the Newman-Keuls analysis of the ACT-D Ideology main effect parallel those of the ACT-A, i.e., left students scored higher on the ACT-D than did middle ideology students, who in turn scored higher than the student rightists.

Intellectual ability. Two measures of intellectual ability were given to the subjects: the Quick Word Test, a measure of verbal intelligence, and the Control Test AA, a measure of academic ability. Descriptive data for these two measures are given in Tables 16 and 17, respectively; analyses of variance of the data are presented in Tables 44 and 45, Appendix D. The results on both scales are similar: there were no significant differences along the activism dimension or along the ideology dimension, nor were there any significant interactions. The only significant difference was an Institution main effect, wherein, according to a Newman-Keuls analysis, students at Smithvale were more intelligent than students at Burgess, who in turn were more intelligent than students at Camden, as measured by both the QWT and the CTAA.

Emotional stability. While several of the scales measured various aspects of personality related to emotional adjustment, two scales measured adjustment directly. Results for the Gordon Personal Profile Emotional Stability Scale and for the Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey Emotional Stability-Emotional Instability Scale are presented in Tables 18 and 19, respectively. It should be noted at this point that the Ns for the GPP and for the GZTS differ from the sample Ns on the other scales. One middle nonactivist student at Camden was dropped from the GPP data pool because he did not fill out that scale completely. Many subjects, in many of the subgroups, were dropped from the various GZTS data pools because they marked too many items "?" on the GZTS scales (4 or more per scale). Consequently, the GZTS data are based upon attenuated sample sizes, and should be interpreted with this deficiency in mind. The cell Ns for the GZTS data are given in the appropriate tables.

The analyses of variance for the GPP E Scale and the GZTS E Scale are presented, respectively, in Tables 46 and 47, Appendix D. There were no significant differences among any of the groups or along any of the dimensions on either measure of emotional stability.

Social acceptance. Under this heading have been placed scales that are pertinent to concern about the way a person appears to others and the value a person places on his relative acceptability to others and conformity to others. The relevant scales are all from the Survey of Interpersonal Values; they are the Recognition, Support, Conformity, and Independence Scales. Data for these four scales are summarized in Tables 20, 21, 22, and 23, respectively, and the analyses of variance are summarized respectively in Tables 48, 49, 50, and 51 of Appendix D.

Table 16

Descriptive Data for Quick Word Test

Institution	Activism	Ideology					
		Left		Middle		Right	
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Smithvale	Activists	74.83	8.67	71.92	12.32	65.43	11.79
	Nonactivists	75.67	12.90	81.06	11.12	77.00	12.70
Burgess	Activists	73.71	12.95	68.40	13.07	61.60	10.74
	Nonactivists	65.56	10.44	65.27	13.36	65.28	14.72
Camden	Activists	59.73	14.66	64.10	13.31	61.63	20.16
	Nonactivists	65.50	23.34	56.96	13.67	58.33	15.41

Note. - Normative data from 5,792 college freshmen (Borgatta and Corsini, 1964) indicate percentile ranks as follows: 20=2nd percentile, 46=50th percentile, 81-85=99th percentile.

Table 17

Descriptive Data for Control Test AA

Institution	Activism	Ideology					
		Left		Middle		Right	
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Smithvale	Activists	27.58	2.43	27.39	1.61	26.14	2.55
	Nonactivists	26.33	0.58	27.29	1.90	27.77	1.30
Burgess	Activists	24.71	2.93	26.00	0.71	26.00	2.55
	Nonactivists	25.44	1.88	24.63	3.03	25.11	2.76
Camden	Activists	21.23	2.72	23.30	2.31	24.25	3.24
	Nonactivists	25.00	1.41	21.82	3.59	23.33	3.80

Note. - Normative data from 663 college freshmen at three liberal arts colleges (Peterson, 1968a) indicate mean scores of 14.67, 19.44, and 20.86 at each of the institutions.

Table 18

Gordon Personal Profile Emotional Stability Scale

Institution	Activism	Ideology					
		Left		Middle		Right	
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Smithvale	Activists	21.92	7.01	21.00	5.94	25.00	5.72
	Nonactivists	25.67	3.22	19.71	5.29	22.54	5.49
Burgess	Activists	24.71	3.04	23.20	6.50	16.60	5.27
	Nonactivists	18.78	5.29	22.97	5.17	22.22	6.29
Camden	Activists	22.64	5.97	23.00	5.08	20.75	10.36
	Nonactivists	18.50	0.71	21.62[a]	6.47	23.62	6.34

Note. - Normative data from 4,518 male and 1,329 female college students (Gordon, 1963a) indicate percentile ranks as follows: 8 (males), 7 (females)=1st percentile; 25 (males), 23 (females)=52nd percentile; 35 (males), 34 (females)=99th percentile.

[a]In this cell, N=26 rather than 27.

Table 19

Descriptive Data for Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey Emotional Stability-Emotional Instability Scale

Institution	Activism	Ideology								
		Left			Middle			Right		
		M	SD	N	M	SD	N	M	SD	N
Smithvale	Activists	16.30	5.23	10	16.00	7.04	11	19.71	6.68	7
	Nonactivists	10.67	6.43	3	14.88	5.45	17	15.36	6.44	11
Burgess	Activists	16.83	6.88	6	13.20	3.83	5	13.00	7.04	5
	Nonactivists	10.50	4.57	8	16.79	4.92	28	16.29	3.98	17
Camden	Activists	16.12	5.40	17	15.50	6.04	10	14.88	6.38	8
	Nonactivists	16.00	0.00	1	14.32	7.33	22	16.80	5.63	20

Note. - Normative data from 912 college students (Guilford and Zimmerman, 1949) indicate a mean score of 16.3 and a standard deviation of 6.02.

Table 20

Descriptive Data for Survey of Interpersonal Values Recognition Scale

Institution	Activism	Ideology					
		Left		Middle		Right	
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Smithvale	Activists	8.67	2.67	11.69	4.80	9.29	3.04
	Nonactivists	8.33	2.89	12.29	5.00	11.08	2.72
Burgess	Activists	9.71	2.56	15.20	5.63	13.60	3.05
	Nonactivists	9.33	2.35	11.77	4.70	11.89	4.30
Camden	Activists	7.59	2.32	12.10	6.54	8.38	4.50
	Nonactivists	12.00	1.41	12.04	4.69	12.52	3.61

Note. - Normative data from 1,075 male and 746 female college students (Gordon, 1960) indicate percentile ranks as follows: 2 (males and females)=1st percentile; 13 (males and females)=51st and 54th percentile respectively; 25 (males and females)=99th percentile.

Table 21

Descriptive Data for Survey of Interpersonal Values Support Scale

Institution	Activism	Ideology					
		Left		Middle		Right	
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Smithvale	Activists	18.67	4.56	17.39	5.88	14.29	6.85
	Nonactivists	14.33	6.66	19.65	4.74	18.54	6.45
Burgess	Activists	17.71	4.68	14.40	2.07	14.00	2.92
	Nonactivists	20.22	3.80	18.77	4.85	17.56	4.76
Camden	Activists	17.09	2.52	17.10	5.47	13.75	7.52
	Nonactivists	17.00	1.41	19.74	4.86	17.86	4.52

Note. - Normative data from 1,075 male and 746 female college students (Gordon, 1960) indicate percentile ranks as follows: 4 (males), 6 (females)=1st percentile; 16 (males), 19 (females)= 55th and 53rd percentile respectively; 28 (males), 29 (females)= 99th percentile.

Table 22

Descriptive Data for Survey of Interpersonal Values Conformity Scale

Institution	Activism	Ideology					
		Left		Middle		Right	
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Smithvale	Activists	5.00	1.54	5.39	3.20	13.86	7.69
	Nonactivists	6.00	6.08	4.88	2.55	6.00	4.22
Burgess	Activists	5.86	3.02	4.00	2.65	6.20	1.64
	Nonactivists	3.44	2.24	5.03	3.59	5.89	3.48
Camden	Activists	5.55	2.52	7.50	3.72	8.00	3.07
	Nonactivists	2.00	0.00	9.07	5.42	10.67	6.11

Note. - Normative data from 1,075 male and 746 female college students (Gordon, 1960) indicate percentile ranks as follows: 1 (males and females)=1st percentile; 12 (males), 15 (females)= 50th and 51st percentile respectively; 28 (males and females)= 99th percentile.

Table 23

Descriptive Data for Survey of Interpersonal Values Independence Scale

Institution	Activism	Ideology					
		Left		Middle		Right	
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Smithvale	Activists	22.25	4.31	22.77	4.05	20.86	7.86
	Nonactivists	22.33	8.62	23.00	4.36	26.00	4.55
Burgess	Activists	24.29	3.35	20.80	8.32	21.60	4.83
	Nonactivists	25.11	4.40	21.80	5.39	24.11	5.71
Camden	Activists	26.46	3.35	18.30	8.92	26.38	5.40
	Nonactivists	28.50	3.54	20.74	5.34	20.76	7.76

Note. - Normative data from 1,075 male and 746 female college students (Gordon, 1960) indicate percentile ranks as follows: 3 (males), 4 (females)=1st percentile; 20 (males), 16 (females)=50th percentile; 32 (males and females)=99th percentile.

The data for the SIV R Scale indicate an ideology main effect and an Institution X Activism interaction. The significant main effect was due to the middle-of-the-road students scoring significantly higher on this scale than the right-oriented students, who in turn scored significantly higher than the left-wing students, Newman-Keuls analysis revealed. The interaction, shown in Figure 3, was examined by calculating simple effects analyses at each institution. These analyses revealed that the interaction was due to the nonactivists at Camden scoring significantly higher on the SIV R Scale than the Camden activists ($F = 13.66$ $df = 1/88$, $p < .001$).

The Support Scale data showed that the nonactivist students, overall, value being supported and nurtured by others more than do the activist students.

On the measure of conformity, there were both Institution and Ideology main effects, an Institution X Ideology interaction, and an Institution X Activism X Ideology interaction. Newman-Keuls analyses of the main effects indicated that the students at Camden and Smithvale did not differ significantly from each other in terms of valuing conformity, but that both groups placed a higher value on it than Burgess students, and right-wing students value conformity significantly more than either moderate or left students. The Institution X Ideology interaction is illustrated in Figure 4. A simple effects analysis at each institution revealed that at Smithvale, the rightists scored higher than the other two ideology groups; at Camden, the rightists and moderates scored higher than the leftists; and at Burgess (perhaps because the scores of all groups were already so low), there were no differences among any of the ideology groups. The three-way interaction is illustrated in Figure 5.

On the SIV I Scale, interestingly enough, the left and right students stood together, both indicating that they valued personal independence significantly more than the middle students. There was also a three-way interaction, illustrated in Figure 6. Comparison of Figures 5 and 6 shows, with only a few departures, similar general trends among conformity and independence across the cells. Recognizing, of course, that the scores for these opposing traits would be at opposite ends of the continuum from one another, the interaction curves for these scales are generally mirror images of one another, suggesting that they do measure diametrical characteristics.

Ascendancy and assertiveness. Both the Gordon Personal Profile Ascendancy Scale and the Guilford-Zimmerman Ascendancy-Submissiveness Scale purport to measure assertiveness and activity in groups. As might be expected, the data, reported in Tables 24 and 25, and the analyses of variance of the data, reported in Tables 52 and 53, Appendix D, for both scales indicate that the activists were significantly higher in this trait than the nonactivists.

The Survey of Interpersonal Values Leadership Scale measures

Table 24

Gordon Personal Profile Ascendancy Scale

Institution	Activism	Ideology					
		Left		Middle		Right	
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Smithvale	Activists	27.50	6.04	23.85	7.48	22.29	6.73
	Nonactivists	21.67	7.51	23.06	6.46	21.15	9.12
Burgess	Activists	27.14	6.23	22.00	7.65	25.00	9.33
	Nonactivists	18.78	5.97	22.23	6.65	21.33	4.34
Camden	Activists	25.86	5.53	27.40	3.75	19.75	5.09
	Nonactivists	20.00	11.31	20.15[a]	6.00	20.62	6.24

Note. - Normative data from 4,518 male and 1,329 female college students (Gordon, 1963a) indicate percentile ranks as follows: 7 (males), 6(females)=1st percentile; 22 (males and females)=50th and 52nd percentile, respectively; 33 (males and females)=99th percentile.

[a]In this cell, N=26 rather than 27.

Table 25

Descriptive Data for Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey Ascendance-Submissiveness Scale

Institution	Activism	Ideology								
		Left			Middle			Right		
		M	SD	N	M	SD	N	M	SD	N
Smithvale	Activists	19.00	6.02	11	16.20	6.36	10	14.00	5.72	4
	Nonactivists	13.33	5.13	3	14.87	5.15	15	13.00	5.92	9
Burgess	Activists	17.17	3.43	6	19.20	7.82	5	23.00	8.19	5
	Nonactivists	13.14	5.18	7	17.15	5.82	26	16.11	4.32	18
Camden	Activists	20.06	6.39	18	20.90	4.41	10	15.13	4.26	8
	Nonactivists	16.50	9.19	2	15.75	5.96	20	13.68	6.35	19

Note. - Normative data from 912 college students (Guilford and Zimmerman, 1949) indicate a mean score of 15.0 and a standard deviation of 5.82.

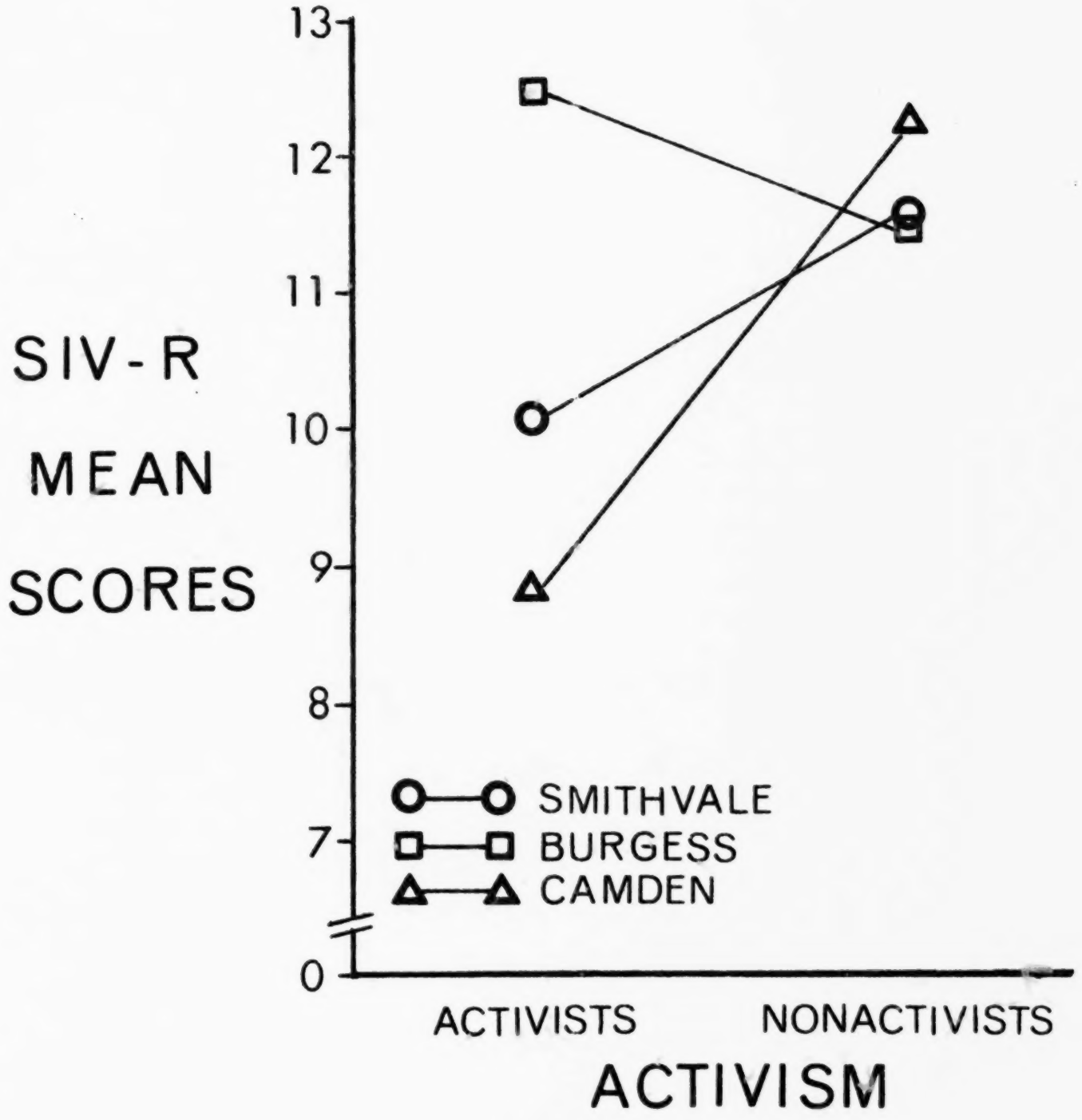

Figure 3. Institution X activism interaction, Survey of Interpersonal Values Recognition Scale.

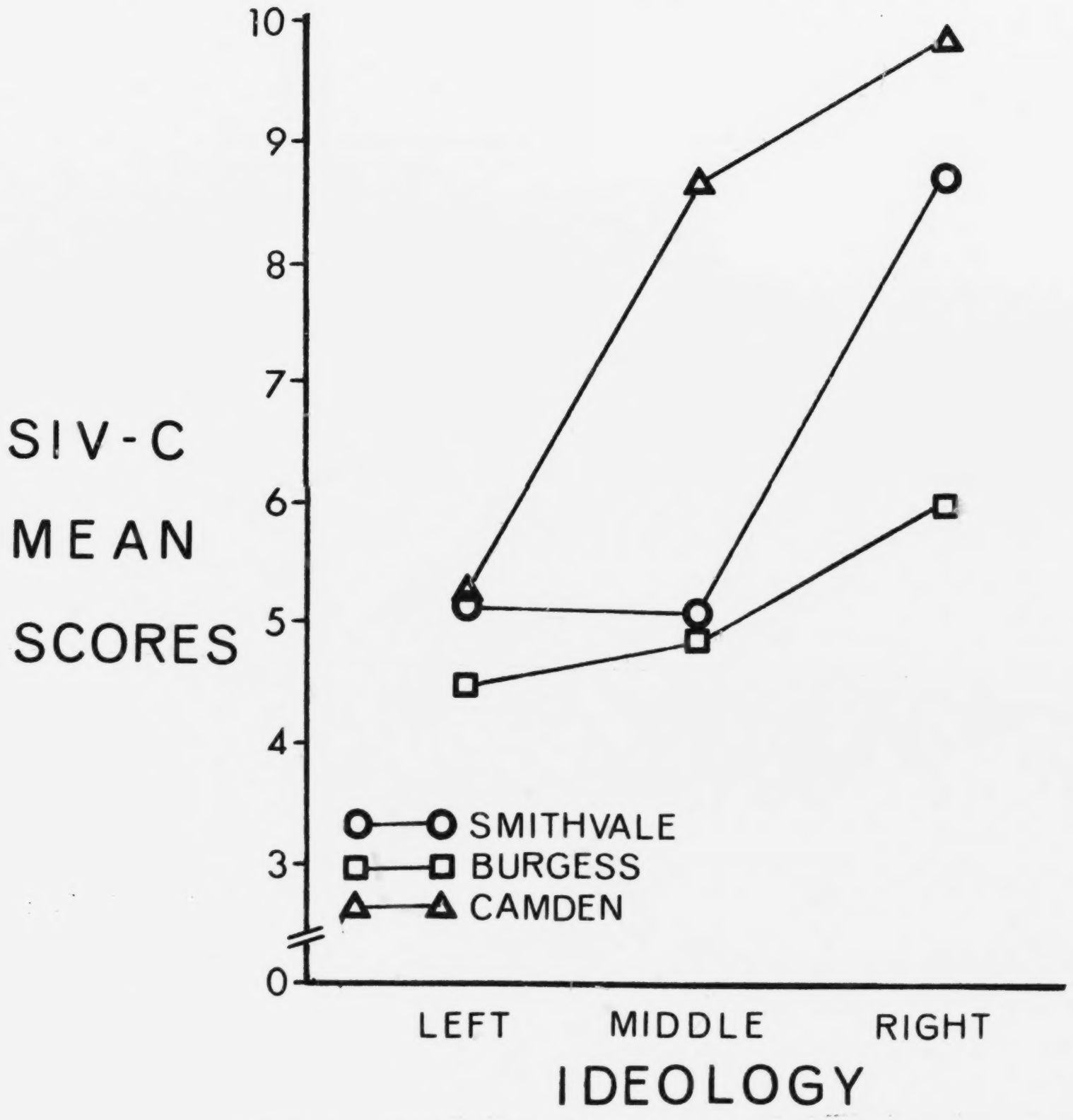

Figure 4. Institution X ideology interaction, Survey of Interpersonal Values Conformity Scale.

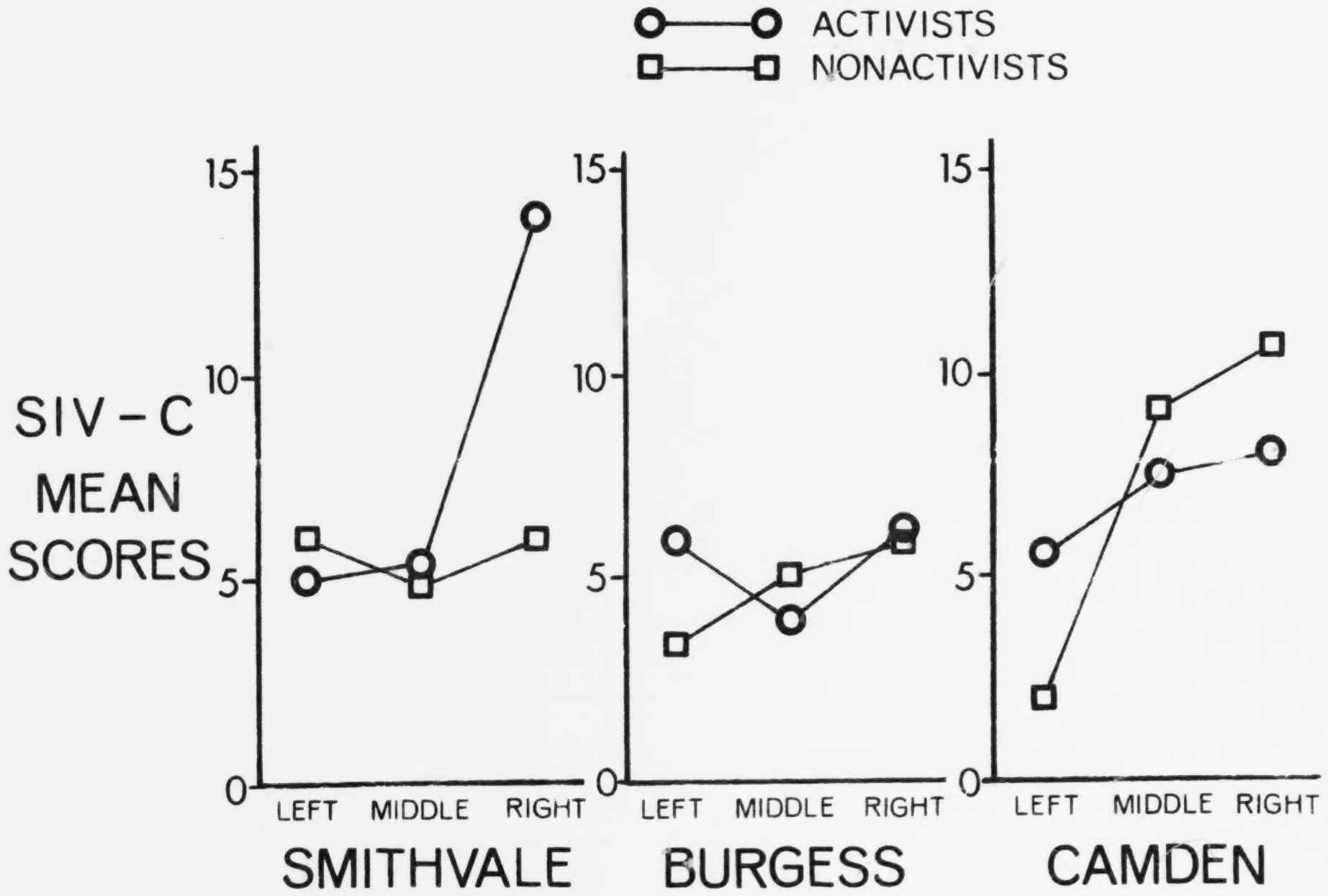

Figure 5. Institution X activism X ideology interaction, Survey of Interpersonal Values Conformity Scale.

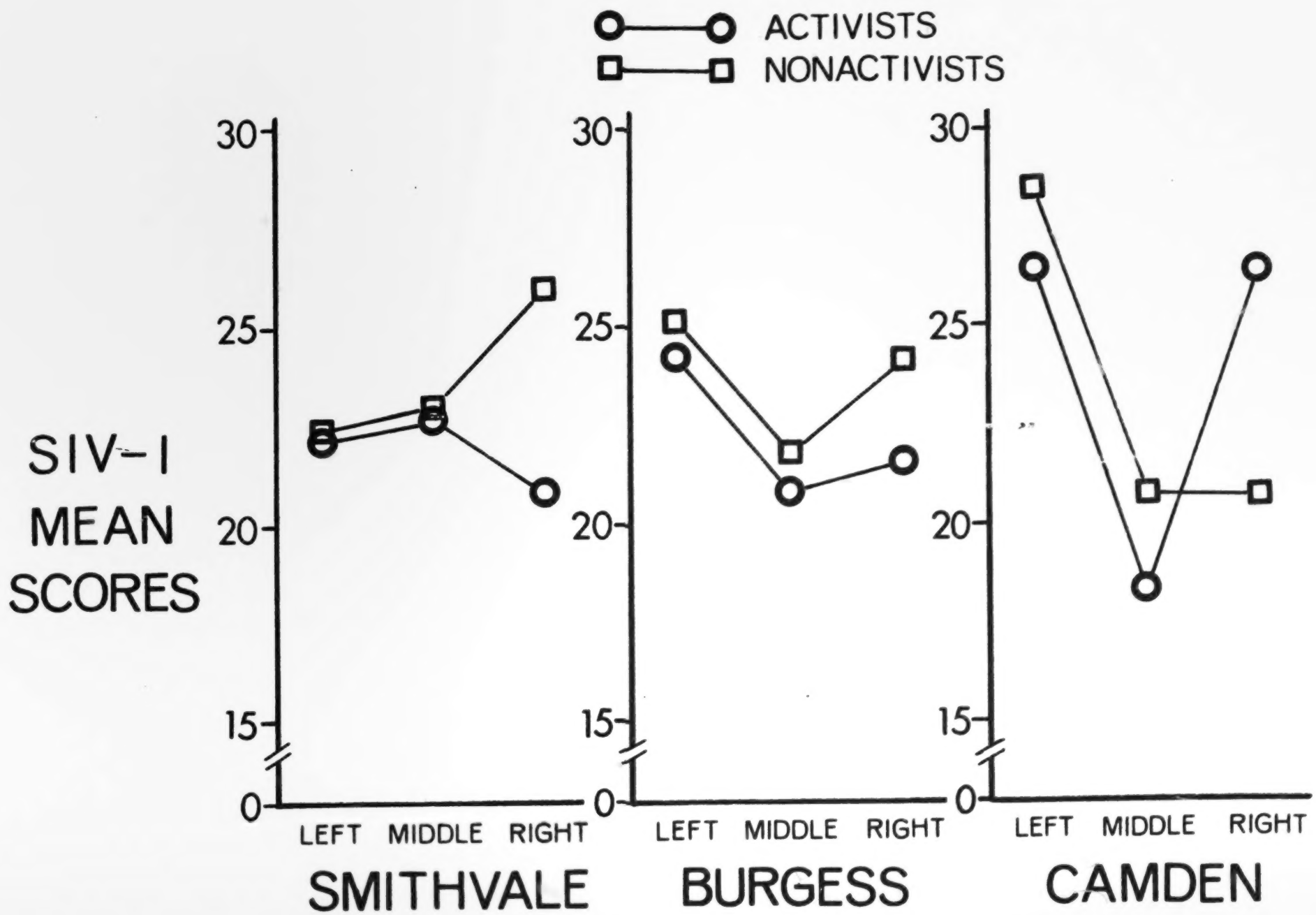

Figure 6. Institution X activism X ideology interaction, Survey of Interpersonal Values Independence Scale.

valuing leadership, as opposed to practicing it by being socially ascendant. The data of this scale, reported in Table 26, and the analysis of variance of the data, reported in Table 42 of Appendix D, reveal, again, an Activism main effect, again in the direction of the activists scoring higher than the nonactivists. There was also an Ideology main effect. Newman-Keuls analysis revealed that that main effect was due to the student rightists valuing leadership significantly more than either the student moderates or the student leftists.

Sociability. Two scales measured sociability or social interest, the Gordon Personal Profile Sociability Scale and the Guilford-Zimmerman Social Interest-Shyness Scale. The results for these two measures are summarized in Tables 27 and 28; the corresponding analyses of variance are reported in Tables 55 and 56 of Appendix D. Of the two scales, only one, the GPP S Scale, revealed any significant differences. There was an Activism main effect for this scale: the activists scored significantly higher than the nonactivists.

Concern for others. The Survey of Interpersonal Values Benevolence Scale measured concern for helping others. On that scale, the data of which are reported in Table 29 and the analysis of variance for which is reported in Appendix D, Table 57, there was an Ideology main effect. This was due, Newman-Keuls analysis indicated, to the left students valuing this trait more than the middle students, who in turn valued it more than the right students.

Responsibility. Under this rubric are subsumed two scales, the first, the Gordon Personal Profile Responsibility Scale, which measures responsibility and perseverance, and the second, the Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey Restraint-Impulsiveness Scale, which attempts to tap seriousness of purpose and persistence. Descriptive data for these scales are presented respectively in Tables 30 and 31; the analyses of variance are summarized in Tables 58 and 59 of Appendix D. Neither scale yielded any significant differences.

Objective thinking. The Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey Objectivity-Subjectivity Scale purports to measure the qualities of being "thickskinned" versus being hypersensitive and suspicious. The descriptive data and the analysis of variance summary for this scale are presented in Table 32 and Table 60, Appendix D, respectively. As can be seen from the latter table, there was not only a significant Ideology main effect, but also significant Institution X Activism, Institution X Ideology, and Institution X Activism X Ideology interaction effects.

The Ideology main effect resulted from the middle- and right-oriented students scoring higher on this scale (being more objective and "thickskinned") than the left-oriented students, Newman-Keuls analysis revealed. Simple effects analyses of variance at each institution for the two-way interactions revealed no significant effects:

Table 26

Descriptive Data for Survey of Interpersonal Values Leadership Scale

Institution	Activism	Ideology					
		Left		Middle		Right	
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Smithvale	Activists	12.67	3.99	14.23	5.78	15.71	5.82
	Nonactivists	16.00	3.46	11.88	3.43	14.39	8.33
Burgess	Activists	12.14	3.93	14.00	4.00	20.20	6.87
	Nonactivists	10.89	2.76	13.53	5.98	15.78	6.06
Camden	Activists	12.09	4.24	18.30	5.76	19.63	4.21
	Nonactivists	12.00	0.00	10.70	6.79	12.52	6.96

Note. - Normative data from 1,075 male and 746 female college students (Gordon, 1960) indicate percentile ranks as follows: 2 (males), 1 (females)=1st percentile; 18 (males), 11 (females)=50th and 48th percentile, respectively; 32 (males), 29 (females)=99th percentile.

Table 27

Gordon Personal Profile Sociability Scale

Institution	Activism	Ideology					
		Left		Middle		Right	
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Smithvale	Activists	23.83	5.08	20.08	7.71	22.57	6.88
	Nonactivists	15.67	7.10	22.06	6.66	17.92	8.68
Burgess	Activists	22.00	4.32	17.40	6.95	24.60	7.60
	Nonactivists	19.00	5.79	19.57	7.13	19.67	5.49
Camden	Activists	20.64	5.23	24.30	5.60	16.50	4.63
	Nonactivists	18.00	9.90	21.00[a]	6.43	19.00	7.17

Note. - Normative data from 4,518 male and 1,329 female college students (Gordon, 1963a) indicate percentile ranks as follows: 6 (males), 8(females)=1st percentile; 23 (males), 24 (females)=53rd and 51st percentile, respectively; 34 (males), 35 (females)=99th percentile.

[a]In this cell, N=26 rather than 27.

Table 28

Descriptive Data for Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey Social Interest-Shyness Scale

Institution	Activism	Ideology								
		Left			Middle			Right		
		M	SD	N	M	SD	N	M	SD	N
Smithvale	Activists	20.36	5.35	11	16.00	8.43	9	17.20	8.32	5
	Nonactivists	13.00	9.54	3	17.85	5.83	13	13.11	7.49	9
Burgess	Activists	20.60	3.85	5	16.00	8.76	4	21.25	4.86	4
	Nonactivists	17.83	5.38	6	17.62	6.73	26	18.19	5.12	16
Camden	Activists	18.60	5.44	15	21.20	5.92	10	11.83	6.59	6
	Nonactivists	25.00	0.00	1	19.50	7.06	22	17.63	8.57	19

Note. - Normative data from 912 college students (Guilford and Zimmerman, 1949) indicate a mean score of 18.8 and a standard deviation of 6.56.

Table 29

Descriptive Data for Survey of Interpersonal Values Benevolence Scale

Institution	Activism	Ideology					
		Left		Middle		Right	
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Smithvale	Activists	22.75	3.44	18.39	4.87	15.57	6.93
	Nonactivists	23.00	2.00	18.35	4.91	13.77	5.12
Burgess	Activists	20.29	3.04	21.60	3.51	14.40	6.23
	Nonactivists	21.00	4.42	19.00	4.87	14.78	5.61
Camden	Activists	21.00	3.44	16.50	6.01	13.50	10.18
	Nonactivists	18.50	0.71	17.48	5.27	15.67	5.94

Note. - Normative data from 1,075 male and 746 female college students (Gordon, 1960) indicate percentile ranks as follows: 2 (males), 5 (females)=1st percentile; 14 (males), 19 (females)= 50th and 48th percentile, respectively; 30 (males and females)= 99th percentile.

Table 30

Gordon Personal Profile Responsibility Scale

Institution	Activism	Ideology					
		Left		Middle		Right	
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Smithvale	Activists	20.50	3.80	21.92	6.61	24.43	5.50
	Nonactivists	25.67	2.08	18.35	6.54	20.00	6.34
Burgess	Activists	21.29	5.77	24.60	2.07	25.80	6.57
	Nonactivists	18.89	5.65	21.87	6.83	22.56	8.56
Camden	Activists	18.41	3.67	22.50	3.95	20.75	10.90
	Nonactivists	20.50	0.71	22.46[a]	5.78	23.62	5.64

Note. - Normative data from 4,518 male and 1,329 female college students (Gordon, 1963a) indicate percentile ranks as follows: 9 (males and females)=1st percentile; 24 (males and females)=53rd and 55th percentile, respectively; 34 (males and females)=99th percentile.

[a]In this cell, N=26 rather than 27.

Table 31

Descriptive Data for Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey Restraint-Impulsiveness Scale

Institution	Activism	Ideology								
		Left			Middle			Right		
		M	SD	N	M	SD	N	M	SD	N
Smithvale	Activists	19.55	2.21	11	19.90	5.34	10	17.67	4.93	6
	Nonactivists	22.00	2.65	3	15.73	5.09	15	17.86	5.24	7
Burgess	Activists	22.17	3.19	6	21.00	2.00	5	17.00	4.06	5
	Nonactivists	15.86	6.23	7	17.54	3.60	24	19.06	3.44	16
Camden	Activists	15.50	3.90	16	17.20	4.96	10	16.00	5.43	8
	Nonactivists	18.00	0.00	1	16.76	3.65	21	16.33	5.61	21

Note. - Normative data from 912 college students (Guilford and Zimmerman, 1949) indicate a mean score of 16.4 and a standard deviation of 4.89.

Table 32

Descriptive Data for Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey Objectivity-Subjectivity Scale

Institution	Activism	Ideology								
		Left			Middle			Right		
		M	SD	N	M	SD	N	M	SD	N
Smithvale	Activists	17.50	6.10	10	17.09	5.52	11	18.00	6 00	7
	Nonactivists	18.00	1.73	3	19.27	4.45	15	16.44	5.77	9
Burgess	Activists	19.33	3.50	6	20.50	3.11	4	12.60	1.82	5
	Nonactivists	15.17	1.72	6	16.88	4.41	24	17.31	4.63	16
Camden	Activists	16.69	4.39	13	14.33	6.61	9	18.63	6.32	8
	Nonactivists	0.00	0.00	1	15.55	4.99	22	17.45	5.39	20

Note. - Normative data from 912 college students (Guilford and Zimmerman, 1949) indicate a mean score of 17.4 and a standard deviation of 5.18.

apparently the ideology differences and the activism differences were consistently in the same direction, but the magnitude of the differences were neither statistically significant nor consistent. The three-way interaction of the GZTS O Scale is presented in Figure 7. Because of the attenuated cell Ns for this scale, the results of the interactions should be interpreted with caution.

"Factors" Differentiating Groups

In a multivariate, multigroup experiment such as this one, another way to examine the same data is to determine the extent to which, and the manner in which, the groups of subjects may be differentiated by a set of dependent variables operating together. The question asked is, What combinatiors of dependent variables differentiate the groups? This can be answered by way of a multiple discriminant analysis (Veldman, 1967, pp. 268-279). Such an analysis was performed on the seventeen questionnaire scales unrelated to the criteria (since the subjects were selected on the basis of their ideology and activism, to have included the PEC, ACT-A and ACT-D scales would have added little information, as the groups would probably have been most differentiable on these three scales). Because the main interest was in the ideology and the activism dimensions, rather than in the institutions, and in order to keep the multiple discriminant analysis from being too cumbersome, the subject groups were combined across institutions for purposes of this analysis.

The multiple discriminant analysis resulted in five roots, or "factors," which accounted for 100% of the variance. The first two roots, however, accounted for most of the variance and yielded significant chi-squares ($\chi^2 = 130.06$, $df = 21$, $p < .001$ for Root 1; $\chi^2 = 42.15$, $df = 19$, $p < .002$ for Root 2). The remaining three roots did not yield significant chi-squares. Correlations of the 17 variables with each root or discriminant function are presented in Table 33. Group centroids for the roots are presented in Table 34.

Root 1, which accounted for 63.33% of the variance, has been entitled an "Authoritarianism" factor. As seen from Table 33, the SIV Benevolence Scale correlates most highly, but negatively, with this function. The SIV Conformity Scale loads in a positive direction next most highly on this factor (it should be remembered that the SIV Scales measure the value a person places on a quality). The remaining variables correlate negligibly with this function. A Newman-Keuls analysis of the group centroids on Root 1 (Table 34) indicates that the rightists, in general, are highest on this function (see Figure 8). Both the right activists and the right nonactivists differed significantly from each other and from the other four groups, as can be seen in Figure 8. Next in order were the middle groups and then the left groups. As is indicated in Figure 8, the left activists were significantly lower on this factor than all the other groups, whereas the left nonactivists did not differ significantly from the middle nonactivists. There were, in other words, three extreme groups on this factor: the right activists and right nonactivists were highest on this function; the left activists, lowest.

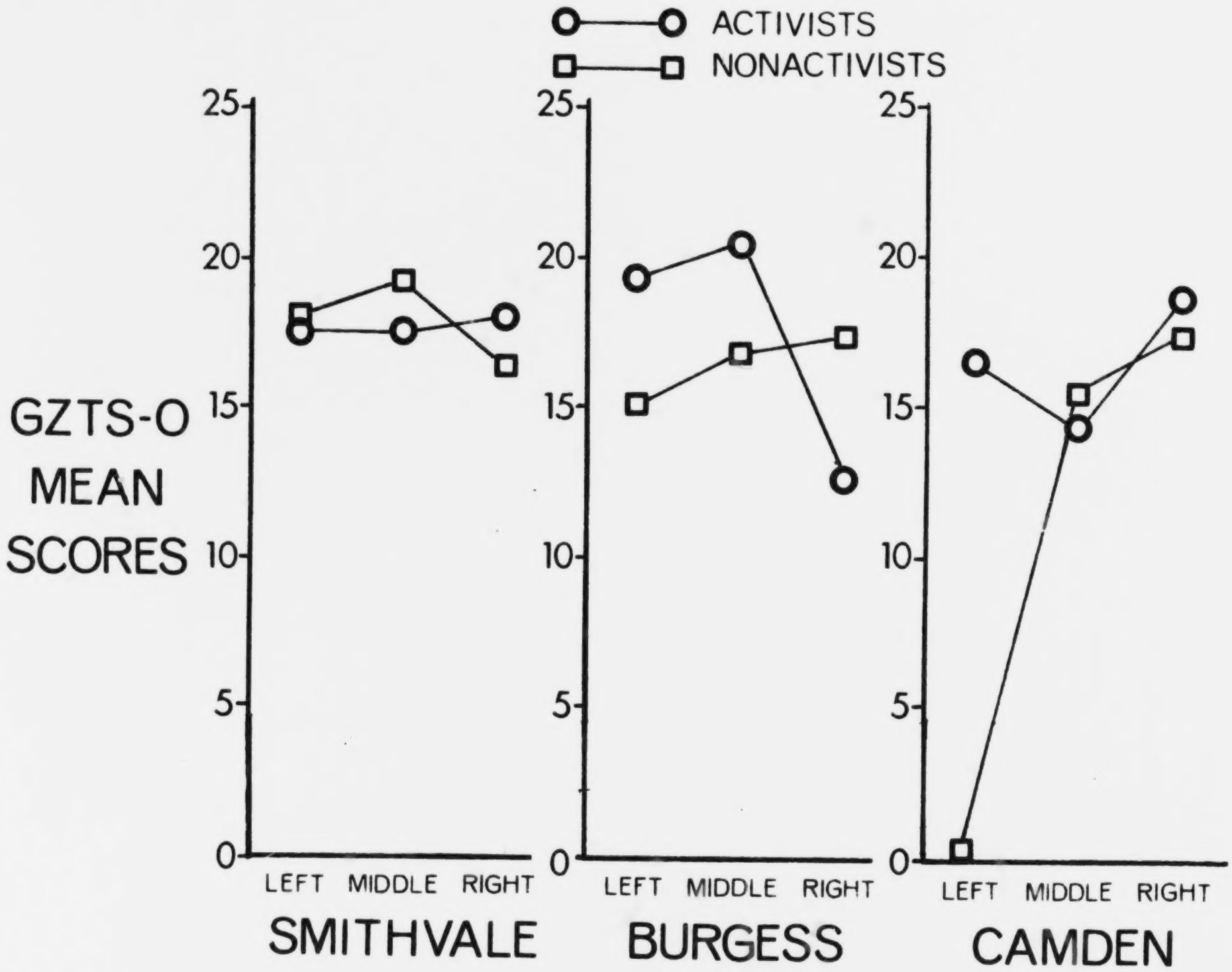

Figure 7. Institution X activism X ideology interaction, Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey Objectivity-Subjectivity Scale.

Table 33

Correlations of Variables with Discriminant Functions

Variable	Discriminant function				
	1	2	3	4	5
QWT	-.08	-.07	.10	.20	-.11
CTAA	.20	.02	.01	.42	-.40
GPP-E	-.02	.06	.29	-.17	-.23
GZTS-E	.22	.09	.34	-.18	.21
SIV-R	.31	-.57	.42	.32	.20
SIV-S	-.18	-.61	-.07	-.24	.15
SIV-C	.39	.20	.13	-.35	.19
SIV-I	-.14	.28	-.35	-.39	-.53
GPP-A	-.32	.45	.54	.16	.08
GZTS-A	-.13	.30	.38	.23	.07
SIV-L	.34	.46	.19	.36	-.11
GPP-S	-.13	.20	.22	.08	.39
GZTS-S	-.06	-.13	.24	-.03	.12
SIV-B	-.61	.04	-.20	.27	.16
GPP-R	.26	.03	.14	.19	-.11
GZTS-R	.05	.17	.22	.31	-.06
GZTS-O	.25	.09	.20	-.08	.20

Table 34

Group Centroids of the Discriminant Functions

Group	Discriminant function				
	1	2	3	4	5
Left activists	22.69	-32.17	36.33	-25.81	-38.21
Middle activists	26.37	-32.94	37.13	-23.93	-38.22
Right activists	30.27	-31.23	35.66	-25.38	-38.07
Left nonactivists	24.71	-33.49	34.58	-24.73	-38.42
Middle nonactivists	26.17	-33.76	36.09	-25.50	-38.05
Right nonactivists	28.20	-33.36	36.44	-25.91	-38.34

LEFT ACTIVISTS | LEFT NON-ACTIVISTS | MIDDLE NON-ACTIVISTS | MIDDLE ACTIVISTS | RIGHT NON-ACTIVISTS | RIGHT ACTIVISTS

ROOT 1

MIDDLE NON-ACTIVISTS | LEFT NON-ACTIVISTS | RIGHT NON-ACTIVISTS | MIDDLE ACTIVISTS | LEFT ACTIVISTS | RIGHT ACTIVISTS

ROOT 2

Figure 8. Results of Newman-Keuls analyses for differences on each root among activism-ideology groups. The underline denotes no significant difference at the $p < .05$ level.

Root 2 accounted for 16.55% of the variance. It has been called an "Autonomy" factor. The SIV Recognition and Support Scales correlate highest and in a negative direction with the function, the SIV Leadership and Gordon Personal Profile Ascendancy Scales correlate next highest and in a positive direction, and the GZTS Ascendance-Submissiveness Scale correlates next highest and also positively with this function, as is indicated in Table 33. In Table 34 are presented the group centroids of Root 2, and in Figure 8 are presented the results of the Newman-Keuls analysis of the group differences. The activists in general were higher on this function (since the group centroids for Root 2 are negative numbers, the lower the absolute number, the higher the group is in the factor). Of the activists, the right and left activists are higher than the other subgroups, while not differing significantly from each other on this factor.

Supplementary Results

It was suggested in Chapter I that one variable to examine in studying the activism phenomenon is the variable of commitment. It was planned to evaluate that characteristic in the current study by observing differences in responses between leaders and followers. As was mentioned above, however, the left activists did not make leader-follower distinctions, and the plans to analyze the data in this way had to be abandoned. Circumstances presented themselves, however, such that a much more direct, behavioral measure of commitment could be obtained among the members of one group, the left activists at Camden. As was mentioned in Chapter II, a considerable amount of turmoil gripped the University of Camden campus during the period that this study was being conducted there. During the demonstrations, in which many of the left activists who were subjects in the present study participated, the students were allowed to demonstrate outside of a police-guarded university building, but if they chose to cross the police lines, they faced arrest. The students were thus given a clear choice: to participate in a protest activity only, or to express a commitment as well by voluntarily subjecting themselves to arrest.

It was felt that the act of submitting to voluntary arrest gave a good behavioral index of commitment. Consequently, when the questionnaires were administered to the left activist subjects at Camden, the subjects were asked to indicate on their Code Number Instructions, by putting in a special code digit in the "Membership" space, if they had been arrested during the recent demonstrations.[4] While the arrest designations are self-report data and are subject to the pitfalls concerning those kinds of data, it was felt that a comparative analysis

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[4]All students who were arrested were arraigned the same night and released early the next morning on their own recognizance, so that none of them was still in jail when the research questionnaires were administered.

of the characteristics of the voluntary arrestees versus the other members might still shed some tentative light on the commitment variable.

The data of the voluntary arrestees, compared with the data of the Camden left activists who were not arrested, are presented in Tables 35 and 36. Only one of the differences between the voluntary arrestees and the other members was significant--the former scored higher on the measure of their political activism than the latter.

Table 35

Descriptive (Discrete) Data of Camden Left Activists

Variable	Voluntary arrestees	Other members
Sex		
No. males	4	7
No. females	4	7
Major		
No. biological, natural, physical sciences	0	1
No. business, engineering	0	0
No. arts, humanities, social sciences	7	12
No. education	0	1
No. other	1	0

Table 36

Descriptive (Continuous) Data of Camden Left Activists

Variable	Voluntary arrestees		Other members		t
	M	SD	M	SD	(two-tailed)
Demographic					
Age	21.75	2.96	20.43	1.65	1.28
Year in school	3.25	1.28	3.29	1.20	0.07
Year at institution	4.00	2.39	2.86	1.29	1.39
Number of activities	1.62	1.32	2.14	1.06	0.96
Criterion					
PEC	1.69	0.64	1.84	0.38	0.68
ACT-A	49.38	7.85	41.29	7.51	2.28*
ACT-D	53.38	7.39	50.43	6.85	0.90
Personality, intellectual					
QWT	61.75	12.93	58.57	15.91	0.46
CTAA	21.38	3.02	21.14	2.66	0.19
GPP-E	21.50	5.13	23.29	6.50	0.64
GZTS-E	16.67	6.65	15.82	4.92	0.28
SIV-R	7.50	2.45	7.64	2.34	0.13
SIV-S	16.75	3.15	17.29	2.20	0.45
SIV-C	6.25	3.28	5.14	1.99	0.94
SIV-I	26.75	3.62	26.29	3.32	0.29
GPP-A	28.25	4.50	24.50	5.75	1.52
GZTS-A	22.86	5.24	18.27	6.63	1.46
SIV-L	12.63	5.95	11.79	3.12	0.41
GPP-S	22.00	5.61	19.86	5.05	0.88
GZTS-S	21.40	3.85	17.20	5.73	1.38
SIV-B	19.75	2.82	21.71	3.65	1.25
GPP-R	18.75	3.88	18.21	3.68	0.31
GZTS-R	16.29	3.55	14.89	4.26	0.66
GZTS-O	19.00	3.56	15.67	4.50	1.20

Note. - N=8 and 14 for the voluntary arrestees and the other members, respectively, except for the GZTS E, A, S, R, and O scales, where N=6, 11; 7, 11; 5, 10; 7, 9; and 4, 9, respectively.

*p<.05.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

As indicated in the Introduction, the aim of the present study was to investigate more rigorously than has usually been the case the personality, attitude, and intelligence attributes that may be associated with student sociopolitical activism and nonactivism across the whole range of political ideologies in institutions of higher education. It may be worthwhile, before discussing the main findings, to discuss the methods by which the subjects were chosen and the demographic characteristics of the finally selected subsamples. The main findings are then examined and their impliciations discussed.

Criterion Variables

It can be assumed that the stringent criteria for assignment of students to each of the research cells resulted in relatively "pure" activism-ideology subgroups. The Politico-Economic Conservatism Scale scores used as the ideology selection criterion was instituted to assure that the subgroups would cover the range of political ideologies. That the activists had to meet the additional standard of belonging to an activist organization of a certain political ideology, as well as scoring within the appropriate ideology range on the PEC Scale, doubly assured this for the activist groups. The political ideology of the activist groups was thereby more accurately assessed and controlled than has usually been the case in previous research. On the other hand, this procedure entailed the exclusion of students whose ideology was incongruent with that of the activist organization to which they belonged. That is to say, for example, that students who joined a left activist organization for non-left ideological reasons were not included in this study. The results that were obtained in this study, therefore, reflect the motivational, personality, intelligence, and demographic characteristics of ideologically consistent activist students, not <u>all</u> activist students.

The expectation that members of politically active organizations would engage in more sociopolitical activity than members of nonpolitical organizations was supported quantitatively by the results of the

Activity-Actual Scale.[5] Activists also expressed a desire to engage in significantly more political activity than nonactivists, as measured by the Activity-Desired Scale. Left-oriented students were more politically active (and desired to engage in more political activities) than the other ideology groups. This is congruent with the findings of a similar study conducted recently by the present investigator at a large northeastern public university (Kerpelman, 1969b). These consistent findings, plus the fact that there were more left than right students in the original subsamples in the activist category than in the nonactivist category in the present study (see Table 4), suggest a greater tendency toward political activity among left ideologists than among right ideologists at these types of institutions. In light of this, the frequent confusion of activism with left activism is perhaps understandable. It may be that the conservative philosophy eschews group political activism in favor of individual efforts. That there were many more ideologically right than left students at all three institutions who did not belong to a politically active organization (see Table 6) supports this assumption. Or it may be that student leftists find in contemporary United States society more with which to be dissatisfied and about which to actively protest. On the other hand, this finding may simply be a function of the kinds and locations of the institutions studied. Lipset and Altbach (1966) have reported that a large number of students and campuses are involved in right-wing student activity. Braungart (1966) and Peterson (1966) have indicated that this kind of activity tends to occur more frequently at church-related colleges and professionally oriented colleges. Since none of the institutions studied either in this research or in Kerpelman's (1969b) previous study falls into these categories, rightist activists may have been underrepresented. Nevertheless, the kinds of institutions studied in the present investigation are the kinds that tend to set the pace for American higher education, and consequently examination of them is of value.

There were differences in overall level of political activity among the institutions included in the present study. The students at the medium-sized private institution (Burgess University) were, on the whole, more politically active than those at the other two institutions. This illustrates the finding (Astin, 1969) that, nationwide, there is a greater tendency for students at private universities to engage in sociopolitical protests than for students at any other type of institution. Students at all three institutions included in the present research were more politically active than were students at the institution studied earlier by Kerpelman (1969b), as measured, in both instances, by the Activity Scale. This may be merely an institutional difference, or it may indicate that the level of political activism on American campuses is increasing with time, as suggested by Peterson (1968b).

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[5]These results provide, as well, further evidence for the construct validity of the ACT instrument.

In addition to ideology and activism, a third criterion variable in the present research was institution. Insofar as institution type may influence the development of students' personality and political attitudes, the three institutions included in this research may be considered "natural" experiments. While perhaps exemplary, however, these institutions could not be considered representative of all institutions of their kind. Since it was impossible within the scope of this study to sample enough institutions within each institution type, generalizations about institution type must be considered tentative at best. It remains for a much larger national study, such as Astin (1968) has undertaken, to produce generalizations about institutions.

Demographic Characteristics

If these data are viewed as accurate observations of naturally occurring groups at each institution, i.e., if it can be assumed that large sampling errors were not made, then certain comments are stimulated about the demographic characteristics of the student groups studied. One interesting result is that the frequent finding (Braungart, 1966; Watts and Whittaker, 1966) that student activists, and particularly student left activists, are overrepresented in the arts, humanities, and social sciences received only slight support here (see Table 9). In the present study, where data were obtained from appropriate control groups, it was the case that, while left activists were slightly overrepresented in arts, humanities, and social sciences, and right activists were somewhat underrepresented, all other students, as well, seemed to prefer these majors.

Another striking thing to note in the demographic data is that while the sexes were equally represented among left and middle subjects, there were twice as many males as females among right-wing students. Even more striking was the fact that there were no females in the right activist groups on two campuses, and only three (versus five males) on the remaining campus (Camden). Braungart's (1966) survey of student left and right activists also found proportionally fewer females in right activist groups than in left activist groups.

The nonactivists in this study were older, as were the students with a left political orientation (as Braungart, 1966, found), as were students at the state university. Congruent with the latter finding, the students at the state university who participated in this study were also at a higher year level than those at the private institutions. Since the subjects in this research were recruited from campus extracurricular organizations, this result suggests that students who attend a less selective institution of higher education and who are, presumably, somewhat less intellectually able than their counterparts at private institutions, may postpone engaging in campus extracurricular activities until later in their college careers when they have become more firmly established in their studies.

The political activists tended to engage in a greater number of campus extracurricular activities of any kind than the nonactivists, consistent with previous findings (Kerpelman, 1969b). Interestingly, there was a tentative trend (tentative because of the statistical weakness of the variable of number of activities) for the left-oriented students at the state university to engage in fewer extracurricular activities overall than their middle- or right-oriented fellow students. An examination of the same data obtained at another state university (Kerpelman, 1969b) reveals the same trend. These findings suggest two hypotheses. The first is that left-oriented students at the large public universities may be more single-mindedly political, i.e., if they join any campus organization at all, they tend to join exclusively the campus political organizations. This, in turn, suggests that these students may be much more committed and devote more of their energy to sociopolitical activities than other students. The second hypothesis is that the left-oriented students at large public universities may be repelled by the ordinary extracurricular activities that are available to them and thus shun them. Both hypotheses would make interesting starting points for further research.

No conclusions can be reached concerning the ethnic, religious, socioeconomic, and family background characteristics of the groups studied in this research, for such was not the focus of this investigation. Astin (1968, 1969) has been able to do this in his large national study of college students, as has Braungart (1966) on a more limited scale. To have attempted to obtain enough subjects to have been able to partial out and study the effects of these variables within the boundaries of the present research design, however, would have extended the scope of this project beyond its intended limits.

Main Results

The main results of this study are embodied in the questionnaire findings. It is pertinent to comment, at this point, that while all the questionnaires were self-report instruments, several of them (such as the Survey of Interpersonal Values and the Gordon Personal Profile) had anti-faking devices built in and utilized a forced-choice format (which would make less obvious the traits being measured). Several others (the Quick Word Test and the Control Test AA) assessed factual information or aptitudes. Consequently, almost all the traits measured were probably not, to any great extent, influenced by conscious effort on the part of the respondents to appear consisted with a "public image." It is important to note this because, while the methodology of the present study did not allow selection of all subjects without their being aware why they were selected (as suggested by Geller and Howard, 1969), it is doubtful that much "faking" of personality or other traits could have occurred anyway. The anonymity stressed during the experimental procedure probably also helped to minimize subjects' attempts to influence the direction of their responses.

Perhaps the most important general result, from both a methodological and a conceptual point of view, was the failure to find, in any of the instruments (except the ACT-A, already discussed) significant Activism by Ideology interactions. This suggests that previous research efforts that have attributed characteristics to particular activist groups (usually left activists) probably have done so incorrectly, due to the failure to separate the contributions of activism from the contributions of ideology. Only on the "Authoritarian" factor of the discriminant analysis, where combinations of variables in interaction were analyzed, did the left activists stand out from the other groups. On the "Autonomy" factor, interestingly, the left activists and the right activists stood together. In not one of the personality, attitude, or intellectual measures analyzed separately in this study, however, were left activists significantly different from any other subgroups, nor were right activists, nor were any activism-ideology subgroups.[6] The hypothesis implicit in this study, and posed elsewhere as well (Block, Haan, and Smith, 1969; Kerpelman, 1969b; Lipset, 1968)--that characteristics that have been identified with left activists may characterize the involved generally or leftists generally--was on the whole supported, at least for those personal and social characteristics measured in the present research.

Because of recent events, much attention has been focused on radical left students in higher education institutions in the United States. Yet the results of the present research are notable not so much in regard to what they indicate about left activists, but rather in what they do not indicate; for they do not indicate that student left activists are unique in any of the properties studied here. It is possible that the students involved in the "new left" movement of the early sixties did indeed exclusively possess certain positive characteristics, but that now the movement's base has broadened so that less able and less psychologically rich students are now included among the student left. Unfortunately, the tendency in the earlier research not to make appropriate comparisons or to use appropriate measurements prevents a definitive answer to this point. It is clear, though, that in the late 1960s, with appropriate comparisons made and the appropriate measures utilized, student left activists do not have an exclusive claim to the high levels of intelligence, psychological richness, and the many other properties ascribed to them in previous research. All of this underlines the necessity of using caution in ascribing characteristics to particular student groups when only the dimension of activism or only the dimension of ideology is taken into account. This is not solely an academic distinction, for the research that has been done, which is then disseminated via the scientific literature (cf. Katz, 1967) and thence

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[6]The three three-way interactions that resulted (on the SIV-C, SIV-I, and GZTS-O Scales) did delineate activism-ideology subgroup differences, but these differed among the institutions; there were no general activism-ideology trends that held across the three institutions.

via the popular news media (cf. Leo, 1967), has frequently not taken this distinction into account, with a misleading picture of today's college students resulting.

Intellectual characteristics. What did the present study indicate to be the salient characteristics associated with activism, ideology, and institution? First, the only significant differences in measured intellectual ability occurred among student from different institutions. There were no significant differences along the activism dimension, nor along the ideology dimension, nor were there any significant interactions. This point deserves emphasis, for an uncritical reading of the previous research literature (Bay, 1967; Flacks, 1967; Katz, 1967; Somers, 1965; Trent and Craise, 1967) might give a different impression.[7] The failure in the present research to find activism or ideology differences, or activism by ideology interactions, in measured intellectual ability suggests, further, that previously used indirect indices of intelligence (such as reported grade point average and intellectual disposition questionnaires) are negligibly correlated, at best, with intelligence. As Geller and Howard (1969) have shown, student left activists tend to perceive themselves as ranking higher in class standings than they are in reality, indicating that the self-report measures of academic achievement used in previous studies may well have been invalid. As Heist and Yonge (1968) have pointed out about their frequently used measure of intellectual disposition, it is negligibly correlated with academic achievement. These facts seem to indicate that it is inappropriate to generalize from indirect measures of intellectual ability to intelligence, as has been done so frequently in the past. Certainly the evidence from the present investigation contradicts previous statements concerning the intelligence of left activists and indicates that a higher level of intelligence is not the exclusive province of any particular ideology subgroup or activist-nonactivist subgroup among college students.

Emotional stability. The notion that left activists approach being "psychological noblemen," as posited by Bay (1967) and by Katz (1967), or the opposite notion put forth by less sympathetic sources that left activists are maladjusted and playing out authority conflicts (Bettelheim, 1969), are both probably exaggerations and oversimplifications. As measured by two scales of general emotional stability in the present research, neither notion received empirical support. There were no differences among any of the groups on these measures. Of course, it is always possible that the two scales were

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[7]Kerpelman's (1969b) finding of a higher level of intellectual ability of all activists compared with all nonactivists in one institution of higher education was not replicated in the present study. It perhaps resulted from the confounding of age and year level in school with the activism dimension (the activists were higher on both variables), a speculation that was entertained in the previous study. In any case, that study also failed to find an activism by ideology interaction in intelligence.

not fine enough to differentiate among any of the groups. The fact that other subscales of the same questionnaires did yield personality differences among ideology, activism, and institution categories, however, makes that conjecture unlikely.

The failure to find differences on emotional stability in the present study replicates similar findings in a previous study (Kerpelman, 1969b). In that study, GPP-E scores were in approximately the same range as in the present research, and there were no group differences. Whittaker and Watts (1968) found no differences in personal adjustment between left activists and a random sample of students, thus supporting these findings on at least part of the sample. These factors add further credence to the postulation that there are no differences in overall emotional stability among student activists and nonactivists of left, middle, and right political ideology. It seems appropriate, then, to turn to specific personality qualities that may characterize the groups.

Social acceptance. The various personality traits subsumed under the rubric of social acceptance concern did result in interesting (and complex) differences among the groups. In an attempt to characterize the group differences clearly, the less important institution effects have been ignored for the purposes of this exposition. Left-oriented students can be characterized as valuing conformity and recognition from others less, but valuing independence more. In not valuing conformity, they stand together with middle-oriented students, whereas in valuing independence, they stand together with rightist students.

That rightist students can value both conformity and independence simultaneously appears initially to be a contradiction. Yet the conservative philosophy seems to call for an ability to tolerate such ambiguities, as exemplified by the glorification of individual enterprise together with a disdain for unusual or highly individualized behavior or appearance. The discriminant analysis results also support the thesis that the rightists must be able to tolerate contradiction--or at least to compartmentalize them so that they do not appear as contradictions. On both of the seemingly opposite significant factors resulting from the discriminant analysis, the "Authoritarianism" factor and the "Autonomy" factor, the right activists were the highest group. The term "obedient rebels," coined by Schiff (1964) to characterize these apparently contradictory tendencies in right activists, seems to have, then, some empirical substance.

Leftists do not value conformity or recognition, but they do value independence, as both the individual scale results and the discriminant analysis (Root 1) results imply. That student leftists value autonomy highly is consistent with the findings of other workers who have examined left activists (Haan, Block, and Smith, 1968; Whittaker and Watts, 1968). The consistency of these findings suggests that this constellation of nonauthoritarian qualities is perhaps more characteristic of left-oriented students than any other quality or

qualities. The independent thinking and nonconformity characteristics hypothesized as properties of the student left (cf. Sampson, 1967) are thus probably valid ones which likely have personality and attitudinal bases.

Middle-of-the-road students, who evidently consistute the bulk of the student bodies at institutions of higher education, appear, on the whole, to be less autonomous. They look for recognition from others more than do the rightists or leftists, and they value personal independence least. They also, however, value conformity less than do the rightists. The picture that emerges of the moderate students is one of concern about social acceptance, but not at the price of conformity.

Politically active students as a whole (that is, left, middle, and right combined) value support from others less than do politically nonactive students. This seems logical, for to be a student activist, either in a student left or student right organization, or in an elected student government body, almost invariably involves abrasive confrontations with others outside of the organization. If an individual requires understanding, encouragement, kindness, and consideration from other people, or from groups of other people, it is unlikely that he could remain comfortable being a member of a politically active organization for very long. This line of reasoning, supported by the data, is contradictory to a more informal, impressionistic line of thought that suggests that activist organizations function as substitute families. While more refined measures may allow elucidation of this contradiction in the future, the present data support the former interpretation.

Ascendancy and assertiveness. A personality characteristic that student political activists would seem to need is one of assertiveness and activity in groups, and it was found in all the measures of this characteristic that the activists did, indeed, possess this trait more so than the nonactivists. It was also found that left and middle students valued leadership less than did the right students. A behavioral demonstration of this in the left activists occurred, as was discussed in the Results chapter, in the (apparently independent) denial by each left activist group of the importance or relevance of leadership designations within their organizations. It would seem that the preference for participatory democracy among leftist students runs deep and is a reflection of a motivational tendency to devalue leadership. Conversely, the frequently ascribed predilection for strong authority among rightists (cf. Kerpelman, 1968) seems to be congruent with their motivational tendency to value leadership and power as found here.

Sociability. Although both the political activists and the political nonactivists alike belonged to social groups of one kind or another, there was a difference between them in terms of their sociability or gregariousness, the activists being more sociable. It can be speculated that the activist students have chosen to join organizations, the purposes of which are to improve the functioning of their institution and

the larger society around them, as an extension of their more personal tendency to enjoy and value the company of their peers.

Concern for others. That left-oriented students expressed more concern for others than did middle-oriented students, and that right-oriented students expressed relatively little concern for others, might be expected. If this personality characteristic is present within an individual, he might be expected to espouse a political philosophy that is socially oriented, whereas a person who possesses little benevolence might be expected to embrace a political ideology that values individual gain even if it must be done at the expense of others.

Responsibility. Radical left students have been characterized by some in the mass media as irresponsible and impulsive, and, indeed, some empirical evidence (Whittaker and Watts, 1968) supports this position. While there are, no doubt, irresponsible and impulsive persons in any student group, measures of these characteristics, as personality tendencies, in the present research failed to confirm this view overall. There were no differences among any of the groups on this trait. Just as left activists or right activists cannot be characterized as being more or less intelligent or more or less emotionally stable than each other or than any other student group, neither can their personality functioning be characterized as being more or less irresponsible or impulsive.

Objectivity. The leftists, in general, can be viewed as being more subjective, hypersensitive, and "thinskinned" than either the moderates or the rightists. Other investigators (Whittaker and Watts, 1968; Winborn and Jansen, 1967) have reported similar findings for left activists. Perhaps this may be one of the contributing factors in the adherence of some students to a leftist ideology. That is, students who come to adopt a leftist political philosophy may do so because they are more sensitive (or hypersensitive) to injustices and may therefore choose to embrace a social philosophy that espouses social amelioration. Moderates and rightists, on the other hand, because they are more "thickskinned" and less sensitive, may not see the need for such broad social change and may thus come to embrace a philosophy (or philosophies) that seeks to maintain the status quo. Schiff (1964) characterized right activists as concerned with control over impulse expression. Placing this in a comparative context, the present data suggest that this finding can be extended to right students in general, and to middle-of-the-road students as well.

Commitment. Although there was a distinct operational definition of commitment (submitting to arrest) present in one of the left activist groups in this research, and although at least two investigators (Keniston, 1968; Sampson, 1967) have suggested that different personality attributes might be associated with different extents of commitment, almost no differences between committed left activists and their fellow left activists were demonstrated. The only differentiating factor found was one that might be expected most, namely activism.

The left activists who submitted to arrest were significantly more politically active overall than were the less committed left activists. In this group, then, the students who were most active in radical activities were willing to demonstrate their commitment by their actions. The failure to find any other differences between highly committed and less committed left activists points to the pitfalls of hypothesizing differences among groups, as Keniston (1968) and Sampson (1967) have done, in the absence of comparative data from the appropriate groups.

Methodological Implications

The two most obvious methodological implications of this study would seem to be that appropriate comparison groups can and should be examined in this, as in all other, research areas, and that relevant direct measures can and should be used as the basis of generalizations about personality and attitude characteristics. These points seem so elementary, yet they are emphasized here because of the obvious failure to implement these basic scientific practices in many of the previous research endeavors in this field. It is as if the investigators' personal sympathies have biased their methods of obtaining and interpreting the data, rather than letting the data speak for themselves. It is hoped that the careful attention to methodology in the current study will help to clarify some of the clouded issues in this area of investigation.

The procedures instituted to guarantee institutional, organizational, and individual confidentiality apparently went a long way in fostering cooperation from the schools, the groups, and the students. The expected misgivings about participating in this research endeavor on the part of left activist and right activist students did not materialize to any great extent. When, in contacting students, the project was dealt with openly and when anonymity was guaranteed, most students were willing to cooperate in this research. It should be added that payment for their services as subjects perhaps helped. In any case, though, the impossibility of tying particular responses to particular students no doubt made the research situation a more tolerable one for some of the student activists, both right and left. Of course, longitudinal studies in which subjects are followed up after a period of time cannot guarantee anonymity, but they can, with appropriate safeguards, guarantee confidentiality.

A study such as this one cannot definitively answer the invariable methodological question as to which came first, the personality characteristics or the political ideology and the propensity toward activism. This "chicken-egg" question has been debated by political scientists, sociologists, and psychologists for years. It is the author's opinion that personality characteristics, which begin to develop at birth, do give the individual predispositions to be more sympathetic to some political philosophies than to others, and do determine the extent and nature of the activity he will engage in to implement those philosophies.

This view is opinion only, which studies of children's political socialization (Greenstein, 1965; Hess and Torney, 1967; Sigel, 1969) and longitudinal studies of the development of college students' political behavior (Astin, 1968) may more adequately clarify.

Conceptual Implications

Given that social conditions are such as to arouse some students to protest or to engage in political activity focused upon the sociopolitical situation, why is it that only some students do so? The personality characteristics that predispose some students to engage in sociopolitical activity seem to be, based on the results of the present study, the same no matter what the student's political ideology is. Left activists, who aim at changing the social and political structure mainly by working upon it, middle activists, who predominantly aim toward improving that structure by working within it, and right activists, who seek by working within the structure to keep it from changing and even to revert it to previous solutions to social and political problems, are more similar in their personality characteristics than they are different. Conversely, the personal and social properties of students who are not aroused to extraordinary political action also seem to be more similar than different, no matter what their political ideology. All student activists, no matter what their ideology, are less needful of support and nurturance, value leadership more, are more socially ascendant and assertive, and are more sociable than students who are not politically active, the results of this investigation indicate.

It is obvious that there are many determinants of political ideology--personality factors, socialization practices, philosophical concerns. This research has pointed to several personality and attitudinal variables that are differentially associated with left, middle, and right ideologies among students in institutions of higher education: social acceptance concern, valuing leadership, benevolence, and objectivity. Indeed, the ideologically left students, activist and nonactivist alike, might be simplistically characterized as "soft-headed and soft-hearted," while ideologically right students may be just as exaggeratedly characterized as "hard-headed and hard-hearted." Given these communalities within ideological groups, the related questions still arise as to why some left students engage in radical left political activity and others do not, why some middle-of-the-road students seek campus office while others to not, and why some right students identify themselves with conservative organizations whereas others do not. Even though the present research examined an extensive set of personality variables, it generally did not find any personal characteristics that distinguish between the activists and nonactivists within each ideology group. The student who tends toward activism has characteristics which are not unique to any ideological group. The factors that spur a person who espouses one or another ideological position to action are thus probably specific environmental

factors. It remains for an investigation that is much larger in scope than this one--one that studies, in vivo, the attitudes and characteristics not only of students, but also of administrators, faculty, and trustees, as well as the impact of intra- and extra-institutional events that occur--to discover the stimuli for student sociopolitical activity. Such a study might be a large-scale, inter-disciplinary, longitudinal study of the life of an institution of higher education--how crises are stimulated both from within and without, what the reactions to crises and the predispositions to react are among the actors, and what the personal, social, and motivational interactions of the participants are. It seems likely that the phenomena associated with student activism can best be understood from such a broad-based endeavor. And the time is ripe for this kind of endeavor.

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APPENDIX A: FORM OF ORGANIZATION RATING SHEET

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CAMPUS ORGANIZATION RATING SHEET

(To be returned to by Wednesday, October 30)

On the left hand side of the page are names of various organizations on this campus. Across the top of the page are five column headings that could describe the political orientations of the organization. For each and every organization, please place a check mark under the column heading that most closely approximates your judgment of the political character of that organization. It is important that you assess each campus organization, even if you have little or no information about it and must guess. If you guess, make an "educated guess" based upon where you think the organization might stand. The two columns on the right hand side are provided for you to indicate upon what you based your judgment.

						Judgment based on:	
	Extremely politically liberal	Moderately politically liberal	Neither politically liberal nor politically conservative	Moderately politically conservative	Extremely politically conservative	fair to good general information about the organization	little or no general information about the organization

APPENDIX B: Noncopyrighted Instruments

CODE NUMBER INSTRUCTIONS

Month of birth (Jan.=01,...Dec.=12) ____

Day of birth (1=01, 9=09, 10=10, 11=11, etc.) ____

Age now ____

Group code (To be provided by experimenter) ____

Membership (officer or leader=1, member only=2) ____

Sex (male=1, female=2) ____

Year in school (freshman=1,... senior=4, graduate student=5) ____

Number of years at this institution (If not student at this institution,=0) ____

Major (Refer to major list below and put in the 2-digit number that most closely describes your major) ____

Agriculture=01	Humanities=07
Biological Sciences=02	Natural Sciences=08
Business=03	Nursing=09
Creative or Fine Arts=04	Physical Sciences=10
Education=05	Social Sciences=11
Engineering=06	Other=12

This code number will be used on all answer sheets to provide an identification number unique to you. Consequently, it is important that you fill in this code number carefully. After you have completed your code number, turn this page around so that the word TOP is at the top. Then carefully fill in your code number on each answer sheet that you will use as you come to it.

Write in numbers with this side up (TOP)

CNI

94

95 93

The statements below concern what the general public thinks about a number of social questions. The best answer to each statement below is your personal opinion. We have tried to cover many different points of view. You may find yourself agreeing strongly with some of the statements, disagreeing just as strongly with others, and perhaps uncertain about others. Whether you agree or disagree with any statement, you can be sure that many other people feel the same way that you do.

Record your answer to each statement by blackening in the appropriate space for the statement number according to how much you agree or disagree with it. Please answer every item. Blacken in +1, +2, +3, -1, -2, -3, depending on how you feel in each case.

+1:	I AGREE A LITTLE	-1:	I DISAGREE A LITTLE
+2:	I AGREE PRETTY MUCH	-2:	I DISAGREE PRETTY MUCH
+3:	I AGREE VERY MUCH	-3:	I DISAGREE VERY MUCH

---

1. When private enterprise does not do the job, it is up to the government to step in and meet the public's needs for housing, water power, and the like.

2. Men like Henry Ford or J. P. Morgan, who overcame all competition on the road to success, are models for all young people to admire and imitate.

3. The government should own and operate all public utilities (railroads, gas and electricity, etc.).

4. In general, full economic security is bad; most men wouldn't work if they didn't need the money for eating and living.

5. The only way to do away with poverty is to make basic changes in our political and economic system.

6. There should be some upper limit, such as $100,000 per year, on how much any person can earn.

7. At this time, powerful "big unions" are a greater danger than powerful "big business" to our national welfare.

8. We need less government controls over business practices and profits.

9. Labor unions in large corporations should be given a larger part in deciding company policy.

10. The government should not participate in a program of health insurance and medical care.

11. America may not be perfect, but the American way has brought us about as close as human beings can get to a perfect society.

12. Strong labor unions are necessary if the workingman is to get greater security and a better standard of living.

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CAL

Code no: _

To help us assess the range of your interests, please list below <u>all</u> campus organizations (whether formal or informal) to which you belong.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____
6. _____
7. _____
8. _____
9. _____
10. _____
11. _____
12. _____
13. _____
14. _____
15. _____
16. _____
17. _____
18. _____
19. _____
20. _____

APPENDIX C

Table 37

Cochran's Tests for Homogeneity of Variance

Measure	df	C
Demographic Variables		
Age	1	0.292
Year in school	11	0.114
Year at institution	11	0.100
Number of activities	6	0.435**
Dependent Variables		
ACT-A	4	0.189
ACT-D	2	0.136
QWT	1	0.154
CTAA	20	0.132*
SIV-S	7	0.127
SIV-C	6	0.201*
SIV-R	9	0.153*
SIV-I	9	0.129
SIV-B	7	0.213*
SIV-L	12	0.139
GPP-A	1	0.146
GPP-R	7	0.191*
GPP-E	11	0.082
GPP-S	12	0.093
GZTS-R	6	0.119
GZTS-A	1	0.129
GZTS-S	3	0.096
GZTS-E	21	0.090
GZTS-O	8	0.113

Note. - k = 18 in all cases.
*$p < .05$.
**$p < .01$.

~~100~~
9.

APPENDIX D

Table 38

Summary of Institution X Activism X Ideology Analysis of Variance for Age

Source of Variation	df	MS	F	p
Institution	2	23.29	11.39	.001
Activism	1	12.71	6.22	.025
Ideology	2	6.39	3.12	.05
Institution X Activism	2	0.15	0.07	n
Institution X Ideology	4	3.74	1.83	.20
Activism X Ideology	2	1.73	0.85	n
Institution X Activism X Ideology	4	0.50	0.24	n
Within	211	2.04		
Total	228			

Note. - All significance levels are less than the p values indicated. $p < .05$ was the acceptable level of statistical significance used in this research. $p > .20$ is indicated by the letter n.

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Table 39

Summary of Institution X Activism X Ideology Analysis of Variance for Year in School

Source of Variation	df	MS	F	p
Institution	2	6.97	6.40	.005
Activism	1	3.89	3.57	.10
Ideology	2	1.53	1.41	n
Institution X Activism	2	0.02	0.02	n
Institution X Ideology	4	1.49	1.37	n
Activism X Ideology	2	1.25	1.14	n
Institution X Activism X Ideology	4	0.32	0.30	n
Within	211	1.09		
Total	228			

Note. - All significance levels are less than the p values indicated. $p < .05$ was the acceptable level of statistical significance used in this research. $p > .20$ is indicated by the letter n.

Table 40

Summary of Institution X Activism X Ideology Analysis of Variance for Year at Institution

Source of Variation	df	MS	F	p
Institution	2	4.73	3.64	.05
Activism	1	3.12	2.40	.20
Ideology	2	0.48	0.37	n
Institution X Activism	2	0.68	0.53	n
Institution X Ideology	4	1.20	0.92	n
Activism X Ideology	2	0.82	0.63	n
Institution X Activism X Ideology	4	0.61	0.47	n
Within	211	1.30		
Total	228			

Note. - All significance levels are less than the p values indicated. $p < .05$ was the acceptable level of statistical significance used in this research. $p > .20$ is indicated by the letter n.

Table 41

Summary of Institution X Activism X Ideology Analysis of Variance for Number of Activities

Source of Variation	df	MS	F	p
Institution	2	20.19	6.25	.005
Activism	1	21.26	6.58	.025
Ideology	2	4.02	1.24	n
Institution X Activism	2	6.29	1.95	.20
Institution X Ideology	4	7.85	2.43	.05
Activism X Ideology	2	0.97	0.30	n
Institution X Activism X Ideology	4	6.03	1.87	.20
Within	211	3.23		
Total	228			

Note. - All significance levels are less than the p values indicated. $p < .05$ was the acceptable level of statistical significance used in this research. $p > .20$ is indicated by the letter n.

Table 42

Summary of Institution X Activism X Ideology Analysis of Variance for Activism—Actual Scale

Source of Variation	df	MS	F	p
Institution	2	221.77	4.93	.01
Activism	1	4406.20	98.01	.001
Ideology	2	1235.46	27.48	.001
Institution X Activism	2	48.93	1.09	n
Institution X Ideology	4	42.55	0.95	n
Activism X Ideology	2	203.43	4.53	.025
Institution X Activism X Ideology	4	50.18	1.12	n
Within	211	44.96		
Total	228			

Note. - All significance levels are less than the p values indicated. $p < .05$ was the acceptable level of statistical significance used in this research. $p > .20$ is indicated by the letter n.

Table 43

Summary of Institution X Activism X Ideology Analysis of Variance for Activism—Desired Scale

Source of Variation	df	MS	F	p
Institution	2	91.98	1.21	n
Activism	1	4578.61	60.09	.001
Ideology	2	1388.04	18.22	.001
Institution X Activism	2	82.52	1.08	n
Institution X Ideology	4	72.31	0.95	n
Activism X Ideology	2	58.84	0.77	n
Institution X Activism X Ideology	4	118.43	1.55	.20
Within	211	76.20		
Total	228			

Note. - All significance levels are less than the p values indicated. $p < .05$ was the acceptable level of statistical significance used in this research. $p > .20$ is indicated by the letter n.

Table 44

Summary of Institution X Activism X Ideology Analysis of Variance for Quick Word Test

Source of Variation	df	MS	F	p
Institution	2	1979.81	10.79	.001
Activism	1	36.26	0.20	n
Ideology	2	226.22	1.23	n
Institution X Activism	2	332.61	1.81	.20
Institution X Ideology	4	47.48	0.26	n
Activism X Ideology	2	86.91	0.47	n
Institution X Activism X Ideology	4	124.86	0.68	n
Within	211	183.47		
Total	228			

Note. - All significance levels are less than the p values indicated. $p < .05$ was the acceptable level of statistical significance used in this research. $p > .20$ is indicated by the letter n.

Table 45

Summary of Institution X Activism X Ideology Analysis of Variance for Control Test AA

Source of Variation	df	MS	F	p
Institution	2	171.02	22.28	.001
Activism	1	0.01	0.00	n
Ideology	2	2.45	0.32	n
Institution X Activism	2	2.72	0.35	n
Institution X Ideology	4	4.15	0.54	n
Activism X Ideology	2	11.58	1.51	n
Institution X Activism X Ideology	4	11.37	1.48	n
Within	211	7.68		
Total	228			

Note. - All significance levels are less than the p values indicated. $p < .05$ was the acceptable level of statistical significance used in this research. $p > .20$ is indicated by the letter n.

Table 46

Summary of Institution X Activism X Ideology Analysis of Variance for Gordon Personal Profile Emotional Stability Scale

Source of Variation	df	MS	F	p
Institution	2	19.37	0.54	n
Activism	1	4.33	0.12	n
Ideology	2	0.62	0.02	n
Institution X Activism	2	2.37	0.07	n
Institution X Ideology	4	72.99	2.02	.10
Activism X Ideology	2	52.54	1.46	n
Institution X Activism X Ideology	4	72.53	2.01	.10
Within	210	36.09		
Total	227			

Note. - All significance levels are less than the p values indicated. $p < .05$ was the acceptable level of statistical significance used in this research. $p > .20$ is indicated by the letter n.

Table 47

Summary of Institution X Activism X Ideology Analysis of Variance for Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey Emotional Stability-Emotional Instability Scale

Source of Variation	df	MS	F	p
Institution	2	16.71	0.50	n
Activism	1	33.06	0.98	n
Ideology	2	22.60	0.67	n
Institution X Activism	2	51.74	1.53	n
Institution X Ideology	4	14.90	0.44	n
Activism X Ideology	2	41.87	1.24	n
Institution X Activism X Ideology	4	33.51	0.99	n
Within	188	33.72		
Total	205			

Note. - All significance levels are less than the p values indicated. $p < .05$ was the acceptable level of statistical significance used in this research. $p > .20$ is indicated by the letter n.

Table 48

Summary of Institution X Activism X Ideology Analysis of Variance for Survey of Interpersonal Values Recognition Scale

Source of Variation	df	MS	F	p
Institution	2	35.49	2.08	.20
Activism	1	10.67	0.63	n
Ideology	2	113.27	6.65	.005
Institution X Activism	2	61.99	3.64	.05
Institution X Ideology	4	5.95	0.35	n
Activism X Ideology	2	25.99	1.53	n
Institution X Activism X Ideology	4	9.26	0.54	n
Within	211	17.03		
Total	228			

Note. - All significance levels are less than the p values indicated. $p < .05$ was the acceptable level of statistical significance used in this research. $p > .20$ is indicated by the letter n.

Table 49

Summary of Institution X Activism X Ideology Analysis of Variance for Survey of Interpersonal Values Support Scale

Source of Variation	df	MS	F	p
Institution	2	0.03	0.00	n
Activism	1	156.65	6.53	.025
Ideology	2	55.60	2.32	.10
Institution X Activism	2	22.48	0.94	n
Institution X Ideology	4	22.56	0.94	n
Activism X Ideology	2	53.83	2.24	.20
Institution X Activism X Ideology	4	12.86	0.54	n
Within	211	23.99		
Total	228			

Note. - All significance levels are less than the p values indicated. $p < .05$ was the acceptable level of statistical significance used in this research. $p > .20$ is indicated by the letter n.

Table 50

Summary of Institution X Activism X Ideology Analysis of Variance for Survey of Interpersonal Values Conformity Scale

Source of Variation	df	MS	F	p
Institution	2	58.31	3.46	.05
Activism	1	29.45	1.75	.20
Ideology	2	164.09	9.73	.001
Institution X Activism	2	21.42	1.27	n
Institution X Ideology	4	44.03	2.61	.05
Activism X Ideology	2	29.70	1.76	.20
Institution X Activism X Ideology	4	53.34	3.16	.025
Within	211	16.86		
Total	228			

Note. - All significance levels are less than the p values indicated. $p < .05$ was the acceptable level of statistical significance used in this research. $p > .20$ is indicated by the letter n.

Table 51

Summary of Institution X Activism X Ideology Analysis of Variance for Survey of Interpersonal Values Independence Scale

Source of Variation	df	MS	F	p
Institution	2	5.54	0.18	n
Activism	1	31.69	1.02	n
Ideology	2	152.24	4.89	.01
Institution X Activism	2	15.07	0.48	n
Institution X Ideology	4	64.86	2.08	.10
Activism X Ideology	2	1.15	0.04	n
Institution X Activism X Ideology	4	74.40	2.39	.05
Within	211	31.16		
Total	228			

Note. - All significance levels are less than the p values indicated. $p < .05$ was the acceptable level of statistical significance used in this research. $p > .20$ is indicated by the letter n.

Table 52

Summary of Institution X Activism X Ideology Analysis of Variance for Gordon Personal Profile Ascendancy Scale

Source of Variation	df	MS	F	p
Institution	2	10.10	0.25	n
Activism	1	426.18	10.42	.005
Ideology	2	43.69	1.07	n
Institution X Activism	2	7.78	0.19	n
Institution X Ideology	4	29.99	0.73	n
Activism X Ideology	2	71.43	1.75	.20
Institution X Activism X Ideology	4	56.62	1.39	n
Within	210	40.89		
Total	227			

Note. - All significance levels are less than the p values indicated. $p < .05$ was the acceptable level of statistical significance used in this research. $p > .20$ is indicated by the letter n.

Table 53

Summary of Institution X Activism X Ideology Analysis of Variance for Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey Ascendance-Submissiveness Scale

Source of Variation	df	MS	F	p
Institution	2	71.39	2.15	.20
Activism	1	366.66	11.05	.001
Ideology	2	31.40	0.95	n
Institution X Activism	2	7.12	0.21	n
Institution X Ideology	4	74.00	2.23	.10
Activism X Ideology	2	6.19	0.19	n
Institution X Activism X Ideology	4	29.09	0.88	n
Within	178	33.18		
Total	195			

Note. - All significance levels are less than the p values indicated. $p < .05$ was the acceptable level of statistical significance used in this research. $p > .20$ is indicated by the letter n.

Table 54

Summary of Institution X Activism X Ideology Analysis of Variance for Survey of Interpersonal Values Leadership Scale

Source of Variation	df	MS	F	p
Institution	2	1.01	0.03	n
Activism	1	190.99	5.87	.025
Ideology	2	167.58	5.15	.01
Institution X Activism	2	64.58	1.99	.20
Institution X Ideology	4	34.11	1.05	n
Activism X Ideology	2	63.06	1.94	.20
Institution X Activism X Ideology	4	19.38	0.60	n
Within	211	32.52		
Total	228			

Note. - All significance levels are less than the p values indicated. $p < .05$ was the acceptable level of statistical significance used in this research. $p > .20$ is indicated by the letter n.

Table 55

Summary of Institution X Activism X Ideology Analysis of Variance for Gordon Personal Profile Sociability Scale

Source of Variation	df	MS	F	p
Institution	2	3.06	0.07	n
Activism	1	169.27	3.97	.05
Ideology	2	11.38	0.27	n
Institution X Activism	2	17.85	0.42	n
Institution X Ideology	4	94.99	2.23	.10
Activism X Ideology	2	68.77	1.61	.20
Institution X Activism X Ideology	4	87.98	2.06	.10
Within	210	42.63		
Total	227			

Note. - All significance levels are less than the p values indicated. $p < .05$ was the acceptable level of statistical significance used in this research. $p > .20$ is indicated by the letter n.

Table 56

Summary of Institution X Activism X Ideology Analysis of Variance for Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey Social Interest-Shyness Scale

Source of Variation	df	MS	F	p
Institution	2	74.90	1.66	.20
Activism	1	3.32	0.07	n
Ideology	2	54.81	1.21	n
Institution X Activism	2	87.85	1.94	.20
Institution X Ideology	4	82.47	1.82	.20
Activism X Ideology	2	7.23	0.16	n
Institution X Activism X Ideology	4	87.07	1.92	.20
Within	166	45.26		
Total	183			

Note. - All significance levels are less than the p values indicated. $p < .05$ was the acceptable level of statistical significance used in this research. $p > .20$ is indicated by the letter n.

Table 57

Summary of Institution X Activism X Ideology Analysis of Variance for Survey of Interpersonal Values Benevolence Scale

Source of Variation	df	MS	F	p
Institution	2	31.51	1.15	n
Activism	1	2.52	0.09	n
Ideology	2	460.09	16.81	.001
Institution X Activism	2	1.95	0.07	n
Institution X Ideology	4	25.64	0.94	n
Activism X Ideology	2	2.77	0.10	n
Institution X Activism X Ideology	4	16.42	0.60	n
Within	211	27.38		
Total	228			

Note. - All significance levels are less than the p values indicated. $p < .05$ was the acceptable level of statistical significance used in this research. $p > .20$ is indicated by the letter n.

Table 58

Summary of Institution X Activism X Ideology Analysis of Variance for Gordon Personal Profile Responsibility Scale

Source of Variation	df	MS	F	p
Institution	2	14.69	0.39	n
Activism	1	16.66	0.44	n
Ideology	2	38.93	1.02	n
Institution X Activism	2	55.44	1.45	n
Institution X Ideology	4	48.77	1.28	n
Activism X Ideology	2	37.95	1.00	n
Institution X Activism X Ideology	4	29.95	0.79	n
Within	210	38.14		
Total	227			

Note. - All significance levels are less than the p values indicated. $p < .05$ was the acceptable level of statistical significance used in this research. $p > .20$ is indicated by the letter n.

Table 59

Summary of Institution X Activism X Ideology Analysis of Variance for Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey Restraint-Impulsiveness Scale

Source of Variation	df	MS	F	p
Institution	2	45.74	2.37	.10
Activism	1	15.07	0.78	n
Ideology	2	17.56	0.91	n
Institution X Activism	2	25.33	1.31	n
Institution X Ideology	4	10.61	0.55	n
Activism X Ideology	2	44.70	2.32	.10
Institution X Activism X Ideology	4	36.87	1.91	.20
Within	174	19.31		
Total	191			

Note. - All significance levels are less than the p values indicated. $p < .05$ was the acceptable level of statistical significance used in this research. $p > .20$ is indicated by the letter n.

Table 60

Summary of Institution X Activism X Ideology Analysis of Variance for Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey Objectivity-Subjectivity Scale

Source of Variation	df	MS	F	p
Institution	2	90.38	2.98	.10
Activism	1	46.80	1.54	n
Ideology	2	117.53	3.87	.025
Institution X Activism	2	134.94	4.44	.025
Institution X Ideology	4	103.78	3.42	.01
Activism X Ideology	2	51.93	1.71	.20
Institution X Activism X Ideology	4	130.57	4.30	.005
Within	177	30.36		
Total	194			

Note. - All significance levels are less than the p values indicated. $p < .05$ was the acceptable level of statistical significance used in this research. $p > .20$ is indicated by the letter n.